

CITIZENS' GRIEVANCES AND ADMINISTRATION

(A Study in participation and alienation)

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FOREWORD

It is of the essence of democracy that Civil servants are the servants of the public—hence their other name, the public servants. Their function is to serve the public good in accordance with the policy laid down and the power and authority delegated to them by the public through their chosen representatives. In an ideal situation, every action of the Civil Service, irrespective of the level at which it functions, should be motivated by the public good; and no citizen should have any cause for complaint, unless his demand conflicts with what constitutes the largest good of the largest number.

This ideal situation remains a distant dream everywhere, even in enlightened societies. This is so because bureaucracies, by their very nature, suffer from, as it were, certain inbuilt contradictions, which may be traced to the weaknesses in organisational structures or procedures or the human element or all of them combined—in varying degree. The ultimate result, however, always is the public dissatisfaction, public grievance, the curve of its intensity moving up as the curve of organisational weakness moves down from the normal. Further, in this age where expectations tend to rise and the people tend to be more and more acquisitive, a citizen's demand on the Administration may be more than what is, what can be, or what is expected to be, provided by Government.

It is in this milieu that the present study by Dr. A. P. Barnabas attempts to find out the real image of Administration in the minds of both the general public and the Government officials. The study was originally undertaken for the Administrative Reforms Commission but it has been revised for this publication. The study attempts to identify the factors—from the viewpoint of the public and the officials—which tend to lead to their alienation from, or support to the Administration. And finally it puts forward a few suggestions for removing alienation and encouraging support. I hope that the suggestions made, when implemented, will help towards minimising public grievances, thus winning

public support for the administration and bringing the citizens and administration nearer to each other.

J. N. KHOSLA

Director

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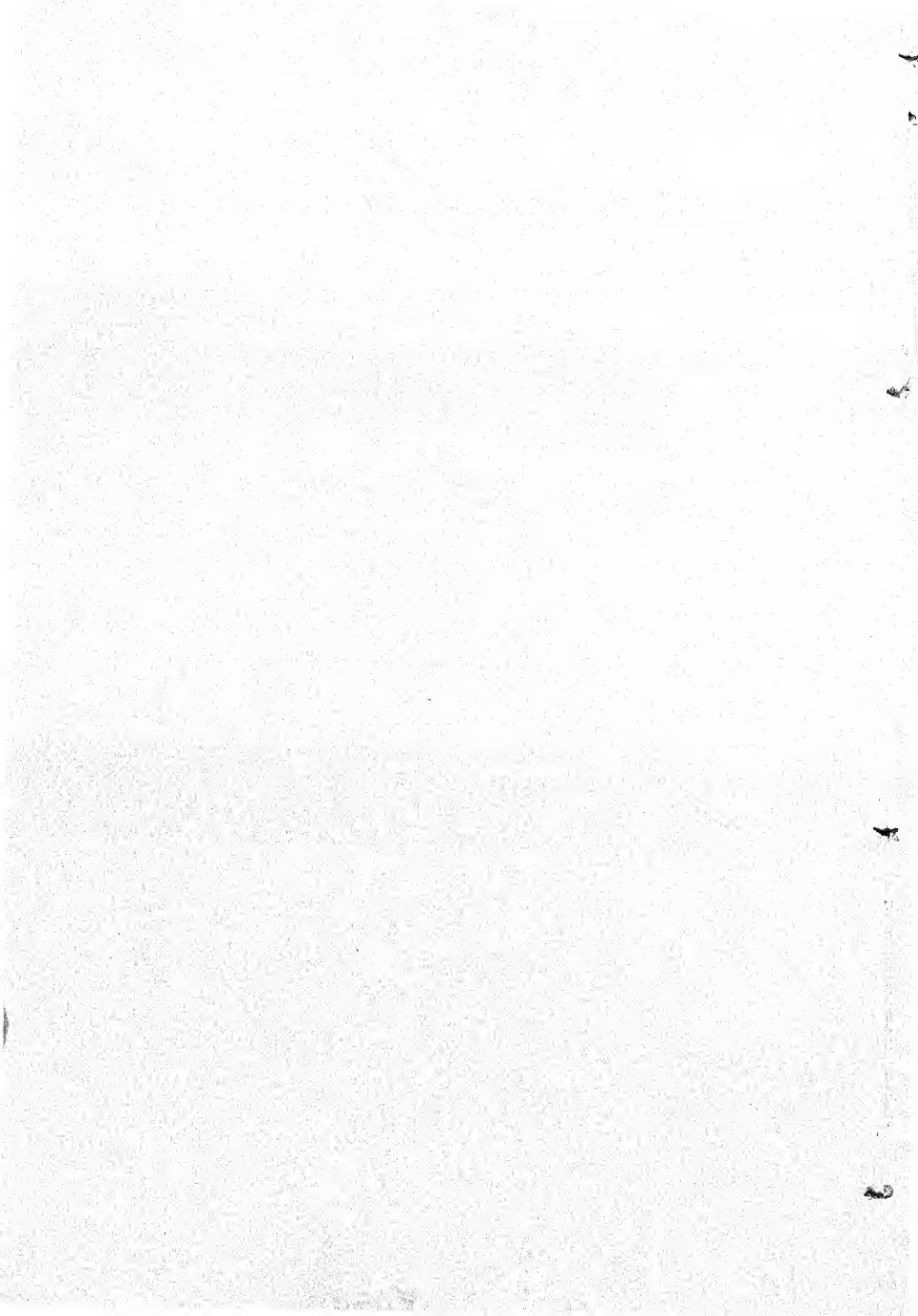
I also acknowledge gratefully the help given by the Department of Community Development in allowing the Orientation Study Centre in Mysore to be used as the base for the study in Mysore and allowing the Principal Shri B. Rudramoorthy of the Orientation Study Centre and some of his staff to spare some of their time for the study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Government policies have been moulded by important historical events or shaped by the opinions of the members of the political communities involved. The resolution of any issue in any society is influenced to a great extent in one or the other way, by the feelings of the public. From this point of view, one can understand the following statements by Robert E. Lane and David O. Sears:

“One of the main functions of the public opinion in a going, stable regime is to provide a generalised support for the regime. Popular opinion provides effective legitimacy. Where this legitimacy is missing, the alienation of the disaffected can be expressed in (a) apathy and withdrawal—the more usual form—or, on occasion in (b) the special politics of alienation—often destructive, irrational, and seemingly less interested in *what* is to be decided than in *who* will decide.”¹

From the foregoing paragraph, it is perfectly clear that the public opinion is an important factor for the administration. The opinions of the public are based on the image they have of the administration. What is important is not only the action of the administration but also the perception of that action by the people as to its justness. People will lend support to the administration only when they are convinced that, by and large, the acts of the administration are just. It is this generalised support which provides legitimacy to a particular regime.

The changing role of administration in India

The dawn of Independence in 1947 and the introduction of the new Constitution in 1950 set in motion a long process of efforts to change the former Law and Order State into a Welfare

¹Robert E. Lane and David O. Sears, *Public Opinion*, New Delhi, Prentice Hall of India, 1965, p. 2.

State. This goal was sought to be achieved through democratic planning. Many schemes, big and small, were progressively initiated in various fields, like agriculture, community development, irrigation, industry, mining, social services which increased the burden on the administration. There has been a tremendous increase in the points of contact between the officials and the public. Further, this necessitated a change in the administrators' attitude towards the public. They were no longer the "rulers" and the public no longer the "ruled". The administration has not only to work for the people, but with the people.

This is easier said than done. In the mind of the average citizen bureaucracy still suffers from the traditional defects associated with it:

"an excessive sense of self-importance on the part of officials or an undue idea of the importance on the part of the officials or an undue idea of the importance of their office; an indifference towards the feelings or the convenience of the individual citizens; an obsession with the binding and inflexible authority of the departmental decisions, precedents, arrangements or forms, regardless of how badly or with what injustice they may work in individual cases; a mania for regulations and formal procedures; a preoccupation with the activities of particular units of administration and an inability to consider the government as a whole; a failure to recognise the relations between the governors and the governed as an essential part of the democratic process."²

On the other hand, the administrator seems to view the people as generally illiterate, ignorant, resourceless, incapable of initiative or action, and unable to understand the rules and the procedures, the requirements and complexities of modern administration.

The function of administration in any state is to act as an instrument in the achievement of the set goals. However, when there is no commitment to these goals and the individuals within the administration tend to deviate from this commitment, many malpractices can spread. The existence of these malpractices would in turn affect the image of the public. The understanding of the said goals and the commitments to these goals, is probably

² W. A. Robson, *The Civil Services in Britain and France*, Hogarth Press, London, 1956, p. 13.

minimal at the lower level than at the higher levels. As already noted, the increased services have increased the points of contact between the villagers and the officials at the village and at the higher levels. There seems to be a general feeling that the lower levels in a hierarchical administrative set-up tend to be neglected and the employees at these lower levels are low paid, poorly educated and ill-equipped to be able to respond effectively to the requirements and the needs of the villagers whom they are expected to serve. Whatever the level of their attainment, the fact cannot be overlooked that in spite of being at the lowest level, they still have more advantageous position compared to the average villager. To what purpose is this position used? Do the villagers feel that the officials respond to their needs?

In India, the bureaucracy has been expanding and assuming greater powers of control and direction—perhaps necessary concomitants of planned and democratic development. With the level of education and economic power of citizens still very low, the chances of abuse, or wrong use, of power and discretion vested in the administration are assumed to be fairly large. On the other hand, even if a citizen makes an unreasonable demand on the administration which cannot be conceded, or makes a complaint which is anything but genuine and cannot be entertained, he will more likely than not, put the entire blame on the administration. The fellow citizens, in their turn, tend to believe him and join in blaming the administration. Not only is there a great deal of vague talk about the prevalence of citizens' grievances, but also of official apathy and indifference to it.

The present study is an attempt to look at the problem objectively. Among other things, the study seeks to find out (a) the respective perception of villagers and of officials about the services provided for villagers by the administration and the extent of their actual availability; (b) the respective knowledge of the villagers and of the officials about the rules and regulations concerning these services; (c) the extent to which the villagers can put up with or complain against what they think which the officials are responsive to the needs of the villagers. In other words, the study tries to find out the factors that make for the alienation or support of the common people in regard to the activities of administration, as reflected in the image in the minds

of villagers and of officials of the functioning and efficiency of the administration.

The study was undertaken only in the rural areas for several reasons. In the Indian context the most important unit for study would be the villagers as more than 80 per cent of the population live in villages. Moreover, from the point of view of development administration, the clientele is largely the rural population which is expected to avail of the services provided by the administration for development in different fields of activities. It was for these reasons that the specific fields of services selected for the study were Taccavi loan, seeds, fertilizers, irrigation and public health.

What are our basic questions?

The overall objective of the study is to determine at the village level the extent of support or alienation of the villagers towards administration. Further, to what extent is the administration aware of these feelings and if they are aware, what have they done about it. In other words, the study proposes to investigate the mutual perceptions of the citizens and the administrators towards each other and to find out what the gap is between them, if any. In the ultimate analysis, it is not merely the rules and regulations that are important, but how they are used by the administration to expedite the achieving of the set goals. The way in which the rules and regulations are administered will form the basis of public support or alienation. From this point, it is important to understand the basis of this support or lack of support. It is assumed that these perceptions are not developed in a vacuum. The opinions and the perceptions of the citizens would be based on:

1. a knowledge of the rules and regulations, of services available of the officials concerned with the administering of these facilities;
2. the actual experience of the villagers in obtaining these services; and
3. the overall attitude of the citizens.

The study is essentially concerned with an analysis of the perceptions and to see to what extent these perceptions are related to knowledge, experience and attitudes.

From the viewpoint of the officials, the study is concerned with the extent of knowledge of the officials regarding the feelings

and the sentiments of the public. To what extent do they feel that they must gain general support of the public, or if they feel that there is alienation, what action do they take to overcome the alienation. The study attempts to look at this from the viewpoint of:

1. the awareness in the administration of public opinion;
2. the training that the administrators have in dealing with the public;
3. the mode of communication among themselves and with public;
4. the machinery that deals with any grievances of the public; and
5. the overall attitudes of the administration as compared to the citizens.

It is hoped that this study would provide some insight as to how the administration could deal with public so as to gain general support for its actions.

Methodology

It is obvious that the problem that has been indicated could best be studied by collecting empirical evidence based on field studies and a realistic assessment of the factors mentioned. The time at our disposal being very short, it was decided that only an exploratory type of study could be undertaken, which would indicate the trends and give some insight as to what the overall feeling of the people was. Our major concern was to find out the extent of support or alienation among the public towards the administration. The departments selected for study were Revenue (representing the law and order), seeds and fertilizers (developmental programmes), irrigation (representing a combination of both traditional and developmental administration) and Health (representing the social service administration). Apart from this, there were some general questions which dealt with administration in general.

As one of the objectives of the study was also to find out as to what extent the officials themselves are aware of the perceptions and the attitudes of the people, a separate schedule was prepared and the selected officials in the District, in the Departments of Revenue, Community Development, Irrigation and Health, were interviewed. Some of the questions asked of the villagers

and the officials were the same, so that the study could indicate the differences (if any) particularly with reference to attitudes and mutual perception. Apart from these general questions, the officials were asked questions regarding communication, public relations, machinery and procedures for handling requests and applications, and the redressal of citizens' grievances.

The schedules were originally drawn up in English and translated into Hindi and Kannada, so as to ensure a measure of uniformity in interviewing those villagers and officials who had little or inadequate knowledge of English. The schedule for the villagers was finalised after two pre-tests involving about 15 per cent of the total number to be interviewed from a different area than where the study was to be conducted. The schedule for the officials was also pre-tested and finalised in consultation with some of the officials themselves.

After a careful consideration of all the relevant factors, it was decided to undertake the study in one District in each of the three States of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Mysore. Further, two Development Blocks in each district and one village in each Block were selected³.

The details of the sample for each district are indicated below:

(i) Villagers (50 per village)	100
(ii) Elected Representatives	11
(iii) Village officials (5 per village)	10
(iv) Block officials (6 per Block)	12
(v) Tehsil officials (3 per Tehsil)	6
(vi) District level	4
Total	<hr/> 143 <hr/>

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

Villagers

Only 6 per cent of the respondents were below 25 years of age, whereas in the age group of 26—40, the percentage was 40 and between 41—55, it was 31. Comparatively, a larger number were older people as 22 per cent of the respondents were over 55 years of age.

³ Details of the sampling procedure are given in Appendix I.

About three-fourths of the respondents were engaged in agriculture, while another 8 per cent worked as agricultural labourers. The remaining 20 per cent was divided among other professions like artisans, traders, those who were in service, etc.

About a third of the respondents owned less than 5 acres of land. The percentage of people who owned land between 6 to 15 acres was 30. Sixteen to 25 acres of land was owned by 10 per cent while another 10 per cent owned more than 25 acres. About one-fifth of the population (18 per cent) did not own any land.

Nearly half of the respondents were illiterate (49 per cent). One-fourth of the population (24 per cent) were literate. Fifteen per cent of the respondents had primary education, while 11 per cent had gone beyond the primary stage in their education.

Only one-fourth of the population had been or were members of Panchayats and the Cooperatives, while the remaining 75 per cent had not been members of either the Panchayats or the Cooperative Societies.

Looking at the caste-wise distribution, it was found that 43 per cent belonged to the farming castes, 14 per cent Brahmins, 7 per cent traders and artisans, 11 per cent Harijans and 19 per cent Muslims.

Eighty-five per cent of the respondents were actual heads whereas another seven per cent were titular heads. In the case of another seven per cent interviewed, there was the combination of the titular head taking help from another member of the family, either because he was not too aware of the conditions or he felt that the younger person was capable of better responses; however, the titular head was usually present at the interview.

Officials

Nearly half of the officials interviewed (48 per cent) had been in service for more than 10 years, while 20 per cent had been in service from 7 to 9 years. Twenty-three per cent accounted for those who were in service between 4 to 6 years and another 7 per cent was in the group 1 to 3 years.

About one-third had held the present position for less than 3 years, whereas 27 per cent held it for 4 to 6 years and another 17 per cent for 7 to 9 years. One-fifth of the officials held the present position for more than 10 years.

31 per cent had been to College. Three per cent had post-graduate training while 10 per cent had some technical education. Three per cent were less than High School and another 3 per cent were those who had both formal and some technical education.

Half the number of the officials interviewed were in the age group of 26-40 years and 37 per cent in the age groups of 41-55 years, 10 per cent were below 25 years of age, while 3 per cent were over 56 years.

The total number of officials interviewed was 85.

Limitations and difficulties

The study was limited to certain areas due to the short time (of 4 months) in which it was to be completed. The attempt was to get at an overall image, i.e., "the what" was the major emphasis rather than "the why" though this was not completely neglected. Apart from the short time, the rains, and later, the floods interfered a great deal with the field investigations. Apart from the hardship faced by the field staff, they found it at times difficult to contact some of the interviewees, selected in the sample of heads of households in the villages. Even after the interviewee was finally contacted, it was occasionally found that he was only a titular head of the households and was not in a position to answer our enquiries. The family affairs were being looked after by a functional head. In such cases, functional head of the family was interviewed. (It may be mentioned that 85 per cent of the respondents in the study from villages were "actual heads" of the households.)

Plan of analysis

Analysis of data has been divided into two parts. Part I discusses the knowledge, experience, perception and attitudes of the villagers—and their views on corruption. As one of the primary concerns of the study has been to compare the views of the villagers with that of the officials, such comparisons have been made at places where items of information were identical. The responses of the officials are discussed in Part II which includes the three chapters on Public Relations, Communication and Grievances. Chapter X contains a descriptive account of the efforts made in the different States in India, for the redressal of grievances of the public. In these cases where there is any kind

of machinery devised for the purpose, an elaborate description has been given.

Most of the questions were tabulated in terms of the characteristics of the respondents, *i.e.*, in case of villagers—caste, age, and education and for the officials—education, age and length of service. Categorising the respondents in terms of these characteristics did not pose any major problems, excepting that of the caste of the villagers. Here it was thought advisable to follow the occupational categories. Only in the case of the Brahmins the traditional division has been retained. Thus our categories in the analysis are Brahmins, Farming Castes, Trading and Artisan Castes and Agricultural Labourers.

In the analysis, however, only those tables have been included where the responses were significantly distributed among the characteristic—categories.



PART I
The Villagers' Responses



THE VILLAGERS' RESPONSES

Introductory

The major purpose of the study was to find out whether there is support or alienation towards administration among the villagers. The variables considered are "knowledge", "experience", "perception" and "attitudes". The underlying assumption is that when the people have knowledge regarding the procedures, rules and regulations, they would be less alienated towards administration. With reference to "experience", it is assumed that experience which resulted in the citizen acquiring what he wanted or got a satisfactory explanation as to why he did not get it, would determine the extent of his support to the administration. "Perception" and "attitudes" could be based either on "knowledge", "experience" or hearsay. The attempt is to see whether attitudes and perceptions which motivate the citizens to support, or be alienated from the administration, are in keeping with the information that they have and the experiences that they have undergone.

Definition of terms

The study, it was indicated, would look at "knowledge", "perception", "experience" and "attitudes" of the villagers. These words need to be defined from the viewpoint of our study.

"Knowledge" would refer to the information that the villagers have regarding the rules and regulations and the procedures through which they can avail of the services that are supposed to be provided by the administration. In a few places, questions have been asked regarding the source of knowledge, but the study does not go deep into this aspect.

"Perception" refers to a discernment or a feeling regarding the procedures and about the behaviour of the officials. It is not necessary that this is based on actual experience, but would only indicate a sort of "vision" which the villagers have built up regarding administration and administrative behaviour.

"Experience" implies direct personal knowledge through a process of having actually dealt with administration for some purpose or the other.

"Attitudes" refers to a way of looking at life, of thinking and feeling. In the present study, we are concerned as to how the people view the administration, as it is likely to affect their behaviour towards administrative machinery.

Data collected from the villagers have been analysed under the following headings:

1. Knowledge,
2. Experience,
3. Perception,
4. Attitude,
5. Corruption.

As would be evident, there will be a certain amount of overlapping in some of these questions as some of them had to be put into one of these categories to some extent arbitrarily. Nevertheless, the data analysed in these terms provide greater insight and a focus, which help to measure support or alienation.

CHAPTER II

KNOWLEDGE

The term "knowledge" has already been defined as referring to the information that the villagers have regarding the rules and regulations and the services available to them from the Government. Questions were asked specifically with regard to Taccavi loan, supply of fertilizers and seeds and the health services. The attempt was not to get at the totality of the knowledge situation, but it was felt that a few simple questions would give some indication regarding the extent of knowledge. Comparisons between the officials' and the villagers' responses have been made at places where questions asked were identical.

Taccavi loan—eligibility

A question was asked both of the villagers and of the officials as to whether all the people in the village were eligible for Taccavi loan. Among the villagers, it was found that nearly a fourth (24%) said that all were eligible, whereas about a third (32%) said that not all were eligible. Nearly half the population (45%) "did not know". This would indicate that about 70 per cent of the people (those who said "Yes" and "Don't know") were unaware about the eligibility. One of the assumptions made in asking these questions was that since more and more money was being spent in Taccavi loans, the people, even if they did not take the loan themselves, would at least be aware as to who is eligible and the procedures for getting the Taccavi loan.

Among the officials, 58 per cent said that not all were eligible, whereas 15 per cent said that all villagers were eligible and 27 per cent said that they "do not know". Nearly 40 per cent of the officials did not know regarding the eligibility of villagers—this is, to say the least, distressing, particularly in view of the fact that only officials from the Revenue, Agriculture and Development Department were asked this question. When 40 per cent of the officials themselves did not know about it, it is

not surprising that 70 per cent of the villagers also did not know. Unless the officials themselves have information regarding the services available to the villagers, they would not be able to educate the villagers and thus, gain greater support for the administration.

TABLE II.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES OF VILLAGERS AND
OFFICIALS REGARDING ELIGIBILITY OF VILLAGERS FOR
TACCARI LOAN

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Villagers</i>	<i>Officials</i>
Yes	24	15
No	32	58
Don't Know	44	27
n	300	85

Taccari loan is available to those who own land and are able to provide some security. Also, in case the previous loan has not been cleared they are not eligible for Taccari loan. When the villagers were asked about the conditions which enable a person to apply for a Taccari loan, it is found that 73 per cent did not know about it. Only about one-fifth of the respondents had any idea as to who were eligible for the Taccari loan.

Among the officials, as already indicated, about 40 per cent did not know the conditions of eligibility. Thirty-four per cent said that not having land made a person ineligible for the Taccari loan. Other factors for ineligibility mentioned by the officials and the villagers were "non-agriculturists", "failure to provide security", or "previous loan not repaid", or some combination of these. It is significant to note that 73 per cent of the villagers and about 40 per cent of the officials could not give the conditions of eligibility for applying for the Taccari loan. This factor might explain the fact that only about 10 per cent of the respondents had actually availed themselves of the Taccari loan.

When the villagers were asked about the agency which was responsible for the recovery of Taccari Loan, about 40 per cent gave the right answer, *i.e.*, the Revenue Department, whereas 56 per cent said that they did not know. The remaining small number gave wrong answer as Block Office, Cooperative Society, or combination of these. A caste-wise break up of the "do

not know" responses (Table II.2) indicate that the biggest percentage of such responses have come from the farming castes (37%) and the agricultural labour castes (36%).

TABLE II.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS' KNOWLEDGE BY THEIR CASTE ABOUT THE AGENCY FOR RECOVERY OF TACCAVI LOANS

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
Brahmin	11
Farming castes	37
Trading and Artisan castes	9
Agricultural labourers	36
Others	7

Among the officials, 30 per cent did not know as to who was responsible for the recovery of Taccavi loan, whereas 63 per cent gave the right answers. The remaining 7 per cent gave other combinations or wrong answers.

Purposes of the taccavi loan

Table II.3 gives an indication of the percentage of officials and the villagers who were fully aware, partially aware, or did not know about the purposes for which the Taccavi loan is given.

TABLE II.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS AND OFFICIALS REGARDING AWARENESS OF THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH TACCAVI LOAN IS GIVEN

<i>Awareness</i>	<i>Villagers</i>	<i>Officials</i>
Fully aware	16	42
Partially aware	38	29
Don't Know	46	29

Taccavi loan is available for improvement of land, building houses, digging of irrigation well, purchase of agricultural implements and bullocks. If the officials or the villagers mentioned more than 3, they were considered to be "fully aware" of the purposes for which the Taccavi loan was given, and were

considered "partially aware" if they mentioned between 1 to 3. If they gave wrong answers, they were considered to be unaware. As the Table indicates, only 16 per cent of the villagers were "fully aware", whereas 38 per cent were partially aware and 46 per cent did not know the purposes for which the Taccavi loan was given. It is interesting to note (Table II.4) that 47 per cent of the "fully aware" responses and 48 per cent of the "partially aware" responses were from villagers coming from farming castes. Forty-eight per cent of the "Don't know" responses were from the trading and artisan caste. This is understandable because Taccavi loan is given usually for agricultural purposes.

TABLE II.4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY CASTE REGARDING AWARENESS OF THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH TACCABI LOAN IS GIVEN

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Fully aware</i>	<i>Partially aware</i>	<i>D.K.</i>
Brahmin	4	21	9
Farming castes	47	48	38
Trading and artisan castes	—	9	4
Agricultural labourers	31	21	39
Others	4	1	10

Among the officials only 42 per cent were fully aware, 30 per cent partially aware, and the remaining 28 per cent did not know.

There was a great variation among the different States. In U.P. about 60 per cent of the officials were fully aware, whereas in Mysore only about 20 per cent were "fully aware" of the purposes for which the Taccavi loan was given. The figures for the "partially aware" was 54 per cent in Mysore and 14 per cent in U.P. The percentage of officials who did not know was around 25 per cent in all the States.

This again is in keeping with the previous data and clearly indicates that there is not only lack of knowledge among the villagers but even among the officials themselves, regarding the eligibility, the agencies for recovery and the purposes for which the Taccavi loan is given.

The study was also interested in finding out whether the villagers were aware of the procedure for getting the Taccavi loan.

TABLE II.5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY STATES REGARDING
THEIR AWARENESS ABOUT THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH TACCABI
LOAN IS GIVEN

<i>States</i>	<i>Fully aware</i>	<i>Partially aware</i>	<i>D.K.</i>	<i>Total</i>
U.P.	59	14	27	100
Mysore	19	54	27	100
Punjab	47	23	30	100

About 5 steps are involved in this. If the villagers could mention 4 or more of the steps in proper sequence they were considered to be "fully aware" and if they could mention 1 to 3 "partially aware". It was found that only 11 per cent of the villagers were fully aware of the procedures, while another 12 per cent were partially aware. Seventy-four per cent did not know and 3 per cent were not aware at all, *i.e.*, gave wrong answers regarding the procedure. Education has a definite effect on this aspect of the villagers' awareness (Table II.6). "Don't know" responses are highest among the illiterates.

TABLE II.6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY EDUCATION AND
AWARENESS ABOUT THE STAGES THROUGH WHICH APPLICATION
FOR TACCABI LOAN HAS TO PASS

<i>Education</i>	<i>Fully aware</i>	<i>Partially aware</i>	<i>D.K.</i>
Illiterate	38	39	55
Literate	22	15	24
Educated	40	46	21
Total	100	100	100

The next question was as to from where the people had got the information regarding Taccabi loan. Forty-one per cent of those who knew about the Taccabi loan had got it from 'discussion with other villagers' and only 19 per cent from the village officials, whereas another 16 per cent got the information

about this loan from the Sarpanch, Pradhan etc., and 24 per cent from combined sources.

Table II.7 gives a clear picture of the sources from where the villagers got the information.

TABLE II.7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOURCE OF INFORMATION OF THE
VILLAGERS ABOUT TACCAVI LOAN

Sarpanch, Pradhan etc.	16
Village officials	19
Discussion with fellow villagers	41
Others and combination	24
n	70

Supply of seeds and fertilizers

The question of knowledge with regard to seeds and fertilizers referred to the agency from where the people can get these supplies.

Seeds and fertilizers can be obtained from the Community Development Block Office and the Cooperative Societies. From this point of view, it is very difficult to evaluate the data. As Table II.8 shows, 38 per cent mentioned more than one of these agencies, while 28 per cent mentioned the Block Office and 26 per cent Cooperative Societies, with regard to fertilizers.

TABLE II.8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOURCE FOR GETTING
IMPROVED SEEDS AND FERTILIZERS

<i>Sources</i>	<i>Villagers</i>		<i>Officials</i>	
	<i>Seeds</i>	<i>Fertilizers</i>	<i>Seeds</i>	<i>Fertilizers</i>
Block Office	23	28	2	2
Cooperatives	21	26	23	52
Others	10	1	10	—
Combination	35	39	63	44
Don't Know	11	6	2	2

For seeds also, the distribution is fairly similar, except that for the seeds 10 per cent mentioned 'others', whereas it was just about

one per cent for fertilizers. This is partly due to the fact that seeds can be obtained from other villagers or from the villagers' own stock.

Among the officials, about 44 per cent mentioned more than one agency from where the villagers could get fertilizers. More than half (52%) mentioned the Cooperative Societies. None mentioned the Block Office. There is a discrepancy when this response is compared with that of the villagers. Actually permit for the supply of fertilizers is given through the Block Office and the villagers get the supply of fertilizers from the Cooperative Societies. From this point of view, it is very difficult to say as to what the perception of the villagers was. They might consider the agency which gave the permit as the agency which supplies the fertilizers. On the other hand, the officials might make a clearer distinction between the issue of permit and the actual supply of fertilizers and it is probably from this point of view that about 44 per cent of them mentioned the combination.

Regarding seeds also a high percentage of the officials (63%) mentioned the combination, whereas 24 per cent mentioned the cooperative. The seed is supplied by Cooperative Society after the applicant has obtained recommendations either from the village level worker or the Cooperative Inspector. The remaining officials mentioned that the villagers get the supply of seeds from their own stock or from fellow villagers.

As indicated earlier, there is really no single right answer to this question, and consequently, it is not possible to judge the extent of knowledge. However, one could say that the knowledge regarding the agencies through which seeds and fertilizers are available is greater among the villagers as compared to their knowledge regarding the Taccavi loan.

Health services

There were two questions with regard to the Health services. One referred to the distance of the nearest Government Dispensary or the Primary Health Centre, the other, to the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre and the Family Planning Centre. As far as the Government Hospital or the Primary Health Centre was concerned, except for about 3 per cent, the remaining knew where the Primary Health Centre or the Government Hospital were located. The percentage of those who did not know where

the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre was, 25 per cent; and the Family Planning Centre, 33 per cent. Generally speaking, the Primary Health Centre, Maternity and Child Welfare Centre and the Family Planning Centre are all located in the same place. This would indicate that the villagers did not make much use either of the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre or the Family Planning Centre. By and large, the villagers tend to depend on village mid-wife for child delivery. The percentage of people who did not know where the Family Planning Centre is located, was nearly 40 per cent. Those who mentioned the distance, knew more or less correctly the distance where these were located.

The villagers do not have to pay for any of the services that are provided by any of these agencies. However, when the question was asked as to whether they had to pay for the services provided by these agencies, 28 per cent said that they had to pay for the medicines and 5 per cent for consultation with the doctor, and 3 per cent for the family planning materials. Fifty-seven per cent of the respondents said that they do not have to pay for the medicines and 75 per cent for consulting the doctor and 7 per cent for getting family planning materials, 80 per cent of the population said "Don't know" regarding whether they had to pay or not to pay for family planning materials, whereas the percentage was 15 and 20 for medicines and the consultation of the doctor.

It is possible that at times, when particular injections or medicines are out of stock, the villagers are asked to buy it themselves. If the villager buys the injection tubes, then the injection is given at the Primary Health Centre or the Government Hospital. This could be considered as paying for the medicines. From this point of view, the villagers are correct in saying that they have to pay for the medicines. However, the fact that nearly 60 per cent of them are aware that they do not have to pay, is significant.

This would indicate that the villagers are aware of the location of the Government Hospital or the Primary Health Centre and are also comparatively well informed as to whether they have to pay or not for medicines and for consultation of the doctor. Family Planning Centres have come into being only recently, and it is possible that they have not yet been able to make an impact on the village population. Consequently, 80 per cent of them are not aware as to whether they have to pay or not

for the services provided in the Family Planning Centre and even with regard to the location, about 40 per cent of them did not know.

TABLE II.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE VILLAGERS BY THEIR OPINION REGARDING WHETHER THEY HAD TO PAY FOR HEALTH SERVICES

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Medicines</i>	<i>Consultation</i>	<i>Family Planning materials</i>
Yes	28	5	3
No	57	75	17
Don't know	15	20	80

Summary

Knowledge with regard to the Taccavi loan was less as compared to the agencies that supplied fertilizers and seeds and health services. The greater the use people make of particular agency, the greater knowledge they have about the availability of the services, the location of the agency and the procedures involved in utilising the agency. Such knowledge is lacking when the services are not made use of. The major question that has to be answered is why is it that people do not make use of these services. Can the Administration make these services more easily available to the people or make information available regarding the availability of the services? In all the three areas of Taccavi loan, Maternity and Child Welfare Centres and Family Planning Centres, the knowledge among the people was poor. It would be pertinent here to point out that about 40 per cent of the officials themselves did not know about the procedures for getting the Taccavi loan. So the remedy for increasing the knowledge about that would be:

1. To provide more information to the people regarding the services available;
2. To educate officials in all departments about the services available to the public and at least some of the procedures through which the people can avail of the services.

CHAPTER III

EXPERIENCES

Experience refers to a direct personal knowledge through the process of having actually dealt with administration for availing some facility. The assumption is that citizens' alienation or support would by and large depend on the experience that he has perceptions and attitudes in their turn would also depend on such experience. An attempt is made here to see whether there is a relationship between the attitudes and perceptions expressed by the people and the actual experiences that they have of the administration. In detailed analysis a point to be kept in mind about this section is that only a few of the people have had such experience, and consequently, the number responding to some of the questions becomes extremely small. The experiences of people are described with reference to different government departments covered in the questionnaire.

Revenue

The villagers were asked as to whether they had any occasion to come in contact with the various officers mentioned in the Table.

TABLE III.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE VILLAGERS WHO HAD THE
OCCASION TO COME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FOLLOWING
OFFICIALS DURING THE PAST 5 YEARS

<i>Officials</i>	<i>No.</i>
Patwari	59
Girdawar/Kanungo	18
Naib Tehsildar	11
SDO/SDM	7
Collector/Deputy Commissioner	5
Others	16
n	300

It will be seen that about 60 per cent of the people had come in contact with the Patwari or the officials at the village level, with a sharp decline in the next categories, the lowest being at the level of the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner. Sixteen per cent mentioned "others" and this probably refers to the clerical staff in the Revenue Department and other similar responses. A caste-wise break-up of these respondents who said that they came in contact with revenue officers indicates that such experience is highest among the farming castes, except for contact with SDO/SDM, where the highest percentage (61%) comes from among the agricultural labourers.

When questioned as to the reasons or the purposes for which they come in contact with these officials, a majority of them referred to the assessment of land revenue and land records. Only five per cent mentioned Taccavi loan. Among the officials, more than half of them said that the villagers came in contact with them for the purpose of the Taccavi loan. Almost a similar number mentioned land records. Also 31 per cent mentioned the assessment of land revenue.

Only 18 per cent of the villagers interviewed had asked for the Taccavi loan and out of those who had applied, nearly three-fourths had got the loan either fully or partially. A majority of those people said that the Taccavi loan was between Rs. 501 to Rs. 1,500. Only about four per cent of the people had asked for Rs. 2,500 or more. A majority of the people who had got the loan, had got it within about three months time. When questioned as to the factors which helped them in getting loan, the major reason mentioned was "due process" and a few mentioned personal follow-up. Five people mentioned payment of some "money to the officials". Among the five who mentioned payment, only one mentioned the amount. Only two people mentioned that the officials were helpful. Among those who had not got the amount, three said that they did not get the loan because they had not given any bribe, whereas another three said that they were not aware of the conditions.

The question asked of the officials was slightly different. They were asked as to whether the villagers take the help of non-officials for getting Taccavi loan. About half (53%) said that the villagers do take help from the non-officials and this mostly from legislators and Panchayati Raj office-holders.

It is striking to note that about three-fourth (72%) of the officials who said that people take help from non-officials, had longest years of experience in service, *i.e.*, those who had put in more than ten years of government service. Sixty per cent of the officials said that the villagers do not have to pay at any level to get the Taccavi loan. Among the 40 per cent who said that the villagers have to pay, seven per cent mentioned the Revenue officials at village level, five per cent the Tehsil level and two per cent the District level. Nineteen per cent mentioned that they had to pay at more than one level. None of the officials said that any money is paid at the Block level. Only 10 per cent said that the Village Level Worker is corrupt.

TABLE III.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY THEIR LENGTH OF SERVICE WHO SAID THAT THE VILLAGERS TAKE THE HELP OF INFLUENTIAL NON-OFFICIALS IN GETTING TACCAVI LOAN

<i>Length of service</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Below 3 years	5
4—6 years	16
7—9 years	7
10 years and above	72

Seeds

Questioned as to the source of the supply of seeds, about one-fourth (26%) said that they met their needs from their own stock, 32 per cent mentioned a combination of various sources. Only five per cent mentioned the Government sources and another eight per cent the cooperative agency. It would look as though the villagers had to depend on themselves to get the seeds, rather than depending upon the cooperative or the Government agency.

Sixty per cent of the villagers used fertilizers in their fields. About one-third of them started it only five years ago, whereas one-fourth of them (24%) had been using it for six to ten years. The majority of them started applying fertilizers because they were advised either by the Village Level Workers or the Block Level Officials. Sixteen per cent said that there were times when they were not able to get the full supply of fertilizers when they

wanted it. When questioned as to why this was so, a majority of them mentioned short or late supply. Only five per cent said it was due either to "unsatisfactory distribution" or "partiality of the officials". A further question of this was whether they were discriminated against. To this, seven per cent of the people said that they were.

Irrigation

Two-thirds of the people (66%) have their land irrigated. Actually, only 16 per cent of the people do not have their land irrigated, at least partially. This would mean that except for the 18 per cent who do not have land, all of the people have more than one source of irrigation. These vary from private tubewell to Government tubewell, canal, or a combination of these. About 25 per cent mentioned more than one source and 15 per cent canals. Among those who had experienced difficulty in getting water supply, short supply of water was mentioned as the major difficulty.

Among those who had asked for irrigational facilities, a majority of them had either asked for well or a tubewell.

Health

About three-fourths of the people in the village had gone to the Primary Health Centre, in the past year, whereas only 19 per cent had been to the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre and only one-tenth to the Family Planning Centre. More than half of the people (56%) answered in the affirmative to the question "Did you or a member of your family get an injection at the hospital?" Thirty-two per cent of them said that they had to pay for the cost of the injected medicine, whereas 24 per cent said that they did not have to pay. Seventeen per cent said that they also had to pay the fee for getting the injection, whereas 33 per cent said "no" and six per cent of them were not sure.

In Mysore, almost all the villagers (96%) had been to a Hospital, whereas it was 60 per cent in U.P. and 65 per cent in Punjab. For the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre also, the figures vary, being 31 per cent in Mysore, 11 per cent in U.P. and 15 per cent in Punjab. As for the Family Planning Centre, the highest percentage was in Punjab, being

TABLE III.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE VILLAGERS WHO VISITED
THE FOLLOWING CENTRES FOR MEDICAL FACILITIES

<i>Centre</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Primary Health Centre	74
Maternity and Child Welfare Centre	19
Family Planning Centre	10
<i>n</i>	300

14 per cent, four per cent in U.P., Mysore coming in between with 10 per cent. With reference to receiving the injection, as the largest percentage in Mysore had gone to the hospital, 74 per cent of the total population said that they had received the injections, whereas the percentages were 37 for U.P. and 56 for Punjab. The largest percentage who said that they had to pay for the cost of the injected medicine was in Punjab, being 44, the lowest being in U.P., *i.e.*, 21 per cent, and Mysore coming in between 31 per cent.

TABLE III.4

STATEWISE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS WHO HAVE
AVAILED OF THE FACILITIES OF PUBLIC HEALTH

<i>Facilities</i>	<i>Mysore</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>U.P.</i>
Hospital/Primary Health Centre	96	65	60
Maternity and Child Welfare Centre	31	15	11
Family Planning Centre	10	14	4
Received Injection	74	56	37

About three-fourths of the villagers said that the Health Staff approach them regularly for giving vaccinations, etc., and the remaining one-fourth said that they approach sometimes. Ninety-four per cent of the people said that they had taken the vaccination and 93 per cent said that they do not have to pay anything for getting the vaccination. Only two per cent said

that they had paid for getting the vaccination and one per cent said that they had paid for avoiding the vaccination.

It would seem from the above that the Health services are generally satisfactory. Actually nobody needs to pay for any of the services rendered. However, when the hospital does not have the necessary injection tubes and if there is an emergency, people may be asked to pay for the cost of the injection tubes themselves. As has been indicated earlier, more than half of them had to pay for the cost of the injection. Only one-fifth of the people said that they had to pay for getting injection itself. While the first is understandable, the second cannot be explained, as the Hospital staff are not expected to charge them for giving the injection.

When the villagers were directly asked as to whether they had paid any money to any of the hospital staff, 18 per cent responded in the affirmative. Seventeen per cent said "Don't know" and 65 per cent replied in the negative. It is significant that 52 per cent of those who said that they paid to the hospital staff were illiterate. Education seems to have a definite relation with such experience.

TABLE III.5
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY EDUCATION WHO
SAID THAT THEY PAID MONEY TO THE HOSPITAL STAFF

<i>Education</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Illiterate	52
Literate	34
Educated	14

About 25 per cent of the health officials themselves said that villagers have to pay some money to the hospital staff.

Official behaviour

Only 10 per cent of the population had made any complaints against any officials. These were evenly spread out with regard to Revenue, Health, Agriculture, Irrigation and Cooperation. Six per cent had made the complaint in writing, 20 per cent verbally and two per cent both. Six per cent of them had made a complaint over an year ago, and in the case of two per cent, the complaint had been for over six years. Five per cent said that

action was still pending, three per cent said that action against the officials concerned had been taken and one per cent said that the thing wanted had been done. One per cent did not give any clear-cut answer.

About four-fifth of the population (80%) said that they had on some occasion or the other to pay some Government dues. Almost all of them had paid this within the past year. Most of them had paid the money at the village level itself. The payments were either land revenue, tax or that they had asked for the receipt, whereas 75 per cent said that they had received the receipt. This would suggest that some had been given the receipt even without having asked. Only five per cent said that they did not get the receipt. When asked as to why they did not get, they said either they knew the officials personally or habitual delays, dishonesty among the persons to whom the payment is made. The number of those who mentioned this is quite small.

Summary

In the case of Taccavi loan and the purchase of seeds and fertilizers, the number of people who had any experience is rather small, and it is difficult to draw any conclusions on that. With regard to Health, it would seem that about three-fourths of the people who had been to the Hospital had to pay for the cost of the injection tubes, about one-fourth for even getting injected. With regard to the payment of dues, there were hardly any complaints concerning the issue of receipts. In the earlier section, we had seen that nearly 60 per cent of the population knew that they do not have to pay for the health services, while in actual experience, 56 per cent of the people had paid. It is not clear whether the Health officials had indicated as to why the villagers were being charged. If they had not, the experience of the people having to pay would tend to be one of alienation. On the other hand, the services, particularly with regard to vaccination seem to be quite satisfactory and the fact that 94 per cent said that they had taken the vaccination indicates participation in the programme of eradication of smallpox. Whether this is viewed merely as personal protection, or of supporting the Government policy, is a matter of conjecture.

CHAPTER IV

PERCEPTION

As stated earlier, perception refers to the discernment or a feeling regarding the procedures and of the behaviour of the officials. Perception is not necessarily based on any experience, but it is the development of a certain image regarding the total administrative process. This image, then could result in developing particular attitudes which, in turn, affect behaviour. The development of public opinion is dependent on the type of perception that the public have regarding the administrative procedures. In a small study, it is not possible to make any deep enquiries regarding perceptions or use many probing questions or projective techniques. A few questions were asked to get some idea so as to determine whether this overall perception is positive or hostile to the administration.

Some of these questions were identical for the officials and the villagers and in such situations, comparative analyses have been made.

Taccavi loans

Both the villagers and the officials were asked as to whether they consider that the procedure for the grant of the Taccavi loan was complicated or satisfactory or simple. Among the villagers, 30 per cent said that it was complicated, whereas 60 per cent did not know. It has been said earlier that only a few had taken the loan, and this perception of the complexity of the procedures might have prevented many of them from taking the loan. Among the officials, 45 per cent felt that it was complicated, whereas 30 per cent felt that it was simple, and another 20 per cent that it was satisfactory. This again would indicate that the officials themselves feel that the procedures need to be simplified to help the villagers to get the Taccavi loan. The real question would be of those officials who realised that the procedure is complicated, in what manner do they help the villagers to

simplify or understand the matters, so that the people get the loan without too much difficulty.

TABLE IV.1

PERCEPTION OF THE COMPLEXITY OF PROCEDURE FOR GETTING
TACCAVI LOANS
(VILLAGERS AND OFFICIALS)

<i>Perception</i>	<i>Villagers</i> %	<i>Officials</i> %
Complicated	30	45
Satisfactory	7	20
Simple	3	30
Don't know; not ascertained	60	5
	100	100
n	(300)	(64)

Among the officials, a larger percentage from U.P. (63%) felt that the procedure was complicated, whereas the percentages for Mysore were 40 and Punjab 32. In the reverse, while only 14 per cent of the U.P. officials felt that the procedure is simple, 50 per cent of the officials in Punjab felt that the procedure is simple. One-fourth of the officials from Mysore (25%) expressed similar opinion.

TABLE IV.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY DISTRICT
REGARDING THEIR VIEWS ON THE COMPLEXITY OF PROCEDURE
FOR GETTING TACCAVI LOANS

<i>States</i>	<i>Complicated</i>	<i>Satisfactory</i>	<i>Simple</i>
Mysore	40	35	25
U.P.	63	23	14
Punjab	32	28	50

The villagers were asked as to the reasons as to how the Taccavi loan was granted to them. This was asked of only those who had received the loan.

Thirty per cent said that it was just a part of the normal procedure, whereas 25 per cent said that it was due to their personal effort. Eight per cent felt that it was due to paying a bribe, whereas 30 per cent could not give any particular reason. Five per cent of the villagers said it was due to helpful officials.

Another question on this was whether the time taken was too long or reasonable. Among the villagers, 45 per cent felt that the time taken for the grant of the Taccavi loan was not long, whereas 30 per cent said "Don't know". Among the remaining who said that there was delay, they could not give any indication to where they thought the delay occurred. The distribution of those who attributed the delay at the village level, Tehsil level and Block level was fairly even.

Among the officials, about a third (31%) said that the time taken was not too long. Of those who said there was delay, the majority seemed to feel that the delay occurred at more than one level, more particularly at the village and Tehsil levels, rather than at the Block or the District levels.

When questioned as to what should be the normal time for the sanction of the Taccavi loan, 28 per cent of the officials said it should be less than a month whereas 60 per cent felt it should be between 1 to 3 months. Among the villagers, 27 per cent said less than a month, 35 per cent said between 1 to 3 months, and 38 per cent said "Don't know". Among the remaining officials, the variation was 4 to 6 months. Further, a question was asked whether the villagers were harassed when the loan was recovered. It is difficult to analyse this as a large percentage had not taken the Taccavi loan, and had obviously not thought very much about it. Consequently, 66 per cent said "Don't know". Twenty-seven per cent of the villagers felt that they were not harassed. It is significant to note that of those who said that villagers are harassed, 61 per cent come from the farming castes—the caste which is likely to be affected most. Among those who said that they were harassed, said that the officials gave very short notices of their visits or were discriminatory, or resorted to confiscation of property and demand a bribe.

Asked if there was anybody who could help the villagers in getting the loan, if they had paid some bribe, a large number of them felt that the Patwari or the Tehsil officials would have been more helpful as compared to the VLW or the Block officials.

TABLE IV.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY CASTE WHO SAID
THAT THE VILLAGERS ARE HARASSED AT THE TIME OF
RECOVERY OF TACCAVI LOAN

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Brahmin	26
Farming castes	61
Trading and artisan castes	6
Agricultural labourers	7
Total	100

However, a majority said that they did not know. From the data that has been gathered, the picture is rather hazy and no clear conclusion can be reached as to whether it is one of hostility or support.

Seeds and fertilizers

Seventy per cent of the villagers said that the quality of seeds supplied by the Government or the Cooperative Society was better than the local variety. Less than 10 per cent said that it was worse, whereas 11 per cent said that it was the same as that of the local variety. Among the officials 78 per cent felt that the seeds supplied by the Government agency were better, whereas seven per cent felt it was about the same, and another seven per cent felt that it was worse than the local variety. The remaining said that they did not know.

As has already been indicated, not many people were able to get fertilizers and seeds, and when questioned as to who could have helped in getting them, 8 per cent of the villagers said office holders of the Panchayat bodies, for seeds, and 30 per cent for fertilizers. However, a majority of them said "Don't know".

The villagers were further asked if anybody could have helped them if they paid some money to somebody, 25 per cent responded that the Block level officials would have helped, and 17 per cent that the village level officials would have helped.

Eight per cent said that the block non-officials could have helped in securing fertilizers. For seeds, 14 per cent said Block level officials and five per cent Village level officials. Here again, the majority response was "Don't know".

It is difficult to arrive at any conclusions, particularly in view of the fact that the "Don't know" responses are predominant. This could be interpreted in two ways: one, that since the villagers have had no experience in trying to get the fertilizers or seeds they do not think about any hypothetical possibilities of securing them; or since they live very close to the officials whose help they have often to seek, they are not willing to commit themselves either way. The data in this aspect are rather inadequate to arrive at any clear-cut conclusion.

Village records

To the question "does the Patwari make correct entries in the records", the distribution given in Table IV.4 emerged.

TABLE IV.4
PERCEPTION ABOUT THE CORRECTNESS OF ENTRIES MADE
BY THE PATWARI IN VILLAGE RECORDS
(VILLAGERS AND OFFICIALS)

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Villagers</i> %	<i>Officials</i> %
Yes, always makes correct entries	40	39
Yes, sometimes makes correct entries	10	35
No—Never makes correct entries	6	20
Don't know; not ascertained	44	8
	100	100
n	(300)	(64)

The major factor here is also that 44 per cent of the people said "Don't know", whereas 50 per cent of the people said that the Patwari made correct entries always or sometimes. Among the officials, there were a larger percentage as compared

to the villagers, who seemed to think that the Patwari did not make correct entries.

The discrepancy might be due to the fact that the officials who had to comment were generally superior to the Patwari and consequently, were not inhibited as may have been the villagers in responding to these questions. The question was asked of the Patwaris also. The supportive element is largely from among them. The data suggest that the officials seem less certain about the correctness of the entries of the Patwaris as compared to the villagers. When some of the officials were asked about this, they said that the villagers had to live with the Patwari, and since he is the functional official at the village level, probably not too many people would like to commit themselves against him.

When asked whether the Patwari makes these entries with much difficulty or not, about half the villagers (45%) said that the entries were made without any difficulty, whereas 41 per cent said "Don't know". The remaining 14 per cent said that he makes entries with difficulty and of these 14 per cent—more than half of them (50%) said that he expects illegal gratification.

Here again, the officials seem to be more hostile as about 50 per cent said that the Patwari makes entries after some harassment to the villagers. Thirty-nine per cent said that he expects illegal gratification. The reasons mentioned earlier are probably operative here also.

When the villagers were asked as to whether they felt that the officials' visit to the villages ensures the accuracy of records, 55 per cent of the villagers said that it does, whereas 41 per cent said "Don't know" and only four per cent said that it does not help. The fact that about 18 per cent do not own land might explain the larger percentage of "Don't know" responses here.

Taking an overall situation, as the "Don't know" answers are very substantiated, it is difficult to draw any conclusions. The interesting fact is that the officials seem to be more hostile to the Patwari as compared to the villagers.

Health

The first question regarding the Health administration was as to how the people perceived of the behaviour of the officials

towards patients. Nearly 60 per cent said that it was either 'very good' or 'good'. Sixteen per cent said that it was 'bad' and 10 per cent, 'fair', 16 per cent "Don't know". An interesting fact is that half of the respondents who said that the behaviour is 'bad', come from the farming castes. It has already been indicated that 33 per cent of the villagers did not go to the Government hospitals, and from this point of view, the 16 per cent "Don't know" responses are understandable.

TABLE IV.5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY CASTE REGARDING
THEIR REVIEWS ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF HOSPITAL STAFF
TOWARDS PATIENTS

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Very good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Fair</i>	<i>Bad</i>
Brahmin	15	14	14	20
Farming castes	30	49	47	51
Trading and artisan castes	3	9	10	2
Agricultural labourers	47	24	27	20
Others	5	4	2	7
Total	100	100	100	100

Among the officials, only three per cent said that it was bad, while another three per cent said they did not know. The remaining 94 per cent said either very good, good or fair. As compared to other Departments, there seems to be a greater support to the Health Department among the officials. Of those who had said that the behaviour of the health officials was not good, as to why they considered it so, the following answers were given by the villagers: "they lack courtesy", "they are corrupt", "they show favouritism".

Both the villagers and the officials were asked as to whether the villagers are made to buy the medicines from the market even when the hospital has them. The distribution of the responses is given in the Table IV.6.

The question was—"Do you feel that villagers are asked to buy from the market medicines even when the hospital has them in stock?" Twenty-two per cent of the villagers and 19

TABLE IV.6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS AND OFFICIALS BY THEIR VIEWS REGARDING WHETHER THE VILLAGERS ARE MADE TO BUY MEDICINES FROM MARKET EVEN WHEN AVAILABLE IN THE HOSPITALS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Villagers</i>	<i>Officials</i>
Yes, always asked to buy from the market	22	19
Yes, sometimes asked to buy	28	33
No	21	35
No opinion	12	—
Don't know; not ascertained	17	13
Total	100	100

per cent of the officials felt that the villagers were always asked to buy medicines from the market, even when the hospital had them, whereas 28 per cent among the villagers and 33 per cent among the officials felt that the villagers were asked to do this sometimes. Twenty-one per cent of the villagers and 35 per cent of the officials said "no". Twenty-nine per cent of the villagers and 13 per cent of the officials said that they did not know. Here again, 60 per cent of these respondents who expressed lack of support for health administration, were illiterate. And an almost equal percentage (62%) were below 40 years of age.

Among the villagers, only one-fifth of the people could be said to be strongly supportive of the Health administration, and among the officials, nearly two-thirds were hostile as they felt that the villagers were made to buy medicines even when they were available in the hospital.

The next question that was asked of the respondents—both the villagers and the officials—was whether they agree or disagree with the statement "It is said that the hospital staff, instead of giving the medicine to needy patients, sell them in the market." Only eleven per cent said that they did not know, whereas 40 per cent agreed with the statement. Among the officials, about a third (33%) of them agreed with this statement, whereas

39 per cent did not agree with the statement and 26 per cent did not know. The fact that only a little more than a third of the officials seemed to be supporting the administration is generally in keeping with the findings in the other sections as well.

Democratic aspects

When the villagers were asked as to whether they could approach the Ministers, only 29 per cent said that they could do so, whereas 60 per cent said "no". Eleven per cent said that they did not know. When the officials were asked as to whether the villagers could approach the Ministers, 26 per cent said that a majority could approach them, whereas 12 per cent said only about a half and 55 per cent said that only a few could do so. Only one official felt that no villagers can approach the Ministers. An overwhelming majority of officials who said that all villagers could approach the Ministers were those who had put in more than 10 years of service.

TABLE IV.7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY LENGTH OF SERVICE
REGARDING THEIR VIEWS AS TO HOW MANY VILLAGERS CAN
APPROACH THE MINISTERS DIRECTLY

<i>Length of Service</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Majority</i>	<i>About half</i>	<i>Few</i>
Below 3 years	11	7	17	6
4-6 years	11	20	—	17
7-9 years	—	13	17	10
10 years and above	78	60	66	67
Total	100	100	100	100

There is a difference in the perception among the villagers and the officials regarding the accessibility of the Ministers. In response to another question, it was found that the officials feel that people try to get things done through "political pulls". The perception of the officials that, by and large, the villagers have accessibility to Ministers provides further evidence in the matter of "political pull".

TABLE IV.8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY AGE REGARDING
THEIR VIEWS AS TO HOW MANY VILLAGERS CAN APPROACH
THE MINISTERS DIRECTLY

<i>Age</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Majority</i>	<i>About half</i>	<i>Few</i>	
Below 40 years	5	14	10	26	} 100
41 years & above	6	15	5	29	
$n = 81$					

Asked as to whether their contact with the Revenue Officials had increased or decreased, after the introduction of Panchayati Raj, about a third of the villagers said that it had increased and an almost equal proportion said that it had decreased. While 33 per cent of the villagers and 14 per cent of the officials felt that there was no difference, the remaining said "Don't know". The difference regarding the decrease is obviously due to the fact that there is greater contact between the villagers and the officials of the Revenue Department at the village level, whereas at higher level, the contact is obviously less; as a large percentage of the officials interviewed were at higher level, it is possible that their perception is different from that of the villagers who are probably in daily contact with the Patwari, etc.

The idea behind the introduction of the Block and the Panchayati Raj institutions was that there would be better and greater contact between the officials and the villagers, particularly in the Development Departments, and to some extent, a reduction with the traditional Departments of Revenue and Law and Order. While the officials feel that the introduction of the Block and the Panchayati Raj has helped in decreasing the contact with the Revenue Officials, the villagers do not share this view. The Revenue Department is particularly chosen to represent the villagers' image regarding the traditional Government Departments.

Summary

The attempt in this section was to try to have some idea about the perceptions of the people and the officials regarding administration. As stated earlier the data are not quite adequate

TABLE IV.9

EXTENT OF VILLAGERS' CONTACT WITH REVENUE OFFICIALS
AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF PANCHAYATI RAJ (VILLAGERS
& OFFICIALS)

<i>Villagers' contact with Revenue Officials</i>	<i>Villagers %</i>	<i>Officials %</i>
Increased	36	34
Decreased	10	46
No difference	33	14
Don't know; not ascertained	21	6
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100
n	(300)	(64)

with regard to Taccavi loan and seeds and fertilizers. With regard to the land records also, no clear picture emerges. In both these cases, the preponderant response is "Don't know". This could be taken as neutral, *i.e.*, neither supportive nor alienated attitude to administration in these aspects as well. With regard to health, except in the matter of the behaviour of the officials, there seems to be alienation in view of the fact that both among the villagers and the officials, there is a feeling that medicines are not distributed according to their availability and people are made to buy these even when they are available in the hospital. The fact that the officials themselves seem to agree with this suggestion shows that this feeling is not mere perception but more of a fact. This area needs to be probed further.

It is quite significant that an alienated perception is remarkably higher in the following groups of respondents:

- (a) Villagers belonging to the farming castes and agricultural labourers (Table IV.3).
- (b) Villagers who are illiterate.
- (c) Officials who have put in more than ten years of service (Table IV.7)

CHAPTER V

ATTITUDES

“Attitudes” refer to a way of looking at life, thinking and feeling. In the present context, the concern is to see how the people feel and think regarding administration. People’s attitudes determine their behaviour. If the attitudes indicate support, it would mean that people are likely to have greater contact with administration and try to avail of the services. On the other hand, the tendency would be to avoid or keep away from administration if they are alienated.

The questions that were asked were with reference as to from where they would like to get some of the services if a choice was made available. Further, what action they might take in case they had a grievance against administration.

The first question referred to their preference for getting a loan. About one-third of the population said that they would like to get it from the Government sources, about one-fourth (24%) said that they had no preference, whereas about 17 per cent mentioned that they would like to get it from the Cooperatives. Nine per cent said that they would not take a loan from anywhere. Only about 2 per cent mentioned the Land Development Bank, whereas 14 per cent said that they did not know. The data seem to suggest that the opinion is fairly favourable to administration, as nearly one-third said that they would prefer to get the loan from government sources.

With regard to seeds, only 23 per cent said that they would like to get it from the Government and 9 per cent said that they had no particular preference. Twenty per cent said “other” whereas 18 per cent said that they would get it from the Cooperatives. In the case of 24 per cent of the villagers the question was not applicable as they did not have land or were tenants, and hence, could not make any decision. The major reason for people wanting to get it from other sources was that the procedures were simpler as compared to Government sources.

TABLE V.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY THEIR PREFERENCES
IN GETTING LOAN, SEEDS AND HEALTH SERVICES

<i>Sources</i>	<i>Loan</i>	<i>Seeds</i>	<i>Health</i>
Government sources	32	23	54
Cooperatives	17	18	—
No preferences	24	9	11
Other responses	4	20	34
From nowhere	9	—	—
Don't know	14	6	1
Not applicable	—	24	—

Health

When the villagers were questioned as to where they would prefer to get treatment, 54 per cent said that they would go to the Government dispensary, 34 per cent private doctors, 11 per cent said they had no preference and 1 per cent that they do not know.

These people, who wanted to go to the Government dispensary, were asked about the reasons for the preference. Sixty per cent of them said that they would go to the Government dispensary because treatment was either free or very cheap. Fifteen per cent said that the Government hospital was near and another 20 per cent mentioned some other reasons. Only 6 per cent said that they would go to the Government dispensary because treatment there was good. In the case of private doctors, 50 per cent said that they prefer to go to them because their treatment was better. Among other reasons mentioned were nearness of the private doctor, and discriminatory behaviour in Government hospitals.

The data would seem to indicate that people go to the Government dispensary not really so much as of choice, but because of their inability to pay for the services of a private practitioner.

Grievances against officials

One of the questions asked was that what the villagers would do if they had a complaint against the officials. The purpose in this question was to try to see whether the people felt

if there was anything that they could do if they felt that the officials concerned were discriminatory or unjust.

Only about one-fourth of the respondents (27%) said that they would complain to the higher officials. Thirty-eight per cent said that they would do nothing and 21 per cent said that they do not know. Fourteen per cent felt that they would have no complaint to make at all. An interesting point is that 69 per cent of those who said that they will do nothing were illiterate villagers.

When a question was put to those, who said that they would do nothing, as to why they would not do anything, the major reason mentioned was that the officials would not listen. Among the other reasons mentioned fairly frequently was that they did not know whom to approach and the inaccessibility of the officials. Nine per cent were afraid of the reprisals and a few mentioned lethargy (12%) and illiteracy (16%) among the villagers.

The data would again indicate that while the villagers are not particularly apathetic to making complaints, they feel that the officials' reaction would not be positive, and hence there was no use in making the complaint. As indicated, a few were even afraid of reprisals and some said that after all, if one makes a complaint against an official, the complaint will come back to the official concerned, and hence, he would tend to take revenge. There is need to create a feeling among the villagers that if they have a genuine complaint, they should complain and that the complaint would be looked into and a fair decision made about it. They need not fear any reprisals. At present, there does not seem to be this type of confidence.

The officials were asked the question as to what the villagers would do if they had a grievance against an official. Eighty-seven per cent said that the villagers would complain to the higher officials, and 13 per cent that they would not do anything. It is interesting to note that while 14 per cent of the villagers said that they would not have any complaint, not one of the officials said that the villagers would have no complaints. Further, while about 38 per cent of the villagers said that they would do nothing, only 13 per cent of officials felt that they would do nothing.

On the whole, there seems to be a fairly clear gap between the thinking of the villagers and of the officials, as a majority of the officials felt that the villagers would do something if they

TABLE V.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BOTH THE VILLAGERS AND THE OFFICIALS REGARDING WHAT THE VILLAGERS WOULD DO IF THEY HAD ANY COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE OFFICIALS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Villagers</i>	<i>Officials</i>
Complaints to higher officers	27	87
Do nothing	38	13
Won't have any complaints	14	—
Don't know	21	—

had a grievance against the officials, and the majority of the villagers felt that they would do nothing. Further study in this area might be to find out if people had a grievance, what they had actually done, as the present question was purely a hypothetical one.

There were further probing questions on this subject of grievances. Those who had said that they would make a complaint were asked whether they would make the complaint in writing or verbally. Forty-one per cent said that they would make the complaint in writing, whereas 21 per cent said verbally and 38 per cent said that they would complain orally as well as in writing. Half the number of the people who had said that they would make a complaint, said that the officers would take action regarding the complaint, whereas 42 per cent said that they would not, and 8 per cent said "Don't know".

This raises the question as to whether a complaint was being made for the sake of making a complaint, or whether they were really interested in following it through. The fact that nearly half of those who were willing to make the complaint, felt that nothing would be done and the fact that a larger number of people would not make the complaint indicates a lack of confidence in the administration.

When those who had said that the officials would take action were asked as to why the officials would take action, about one-third said it is their duty, about a fourth said that the officials are there to help the villagers, and 20 per cent did not know. It is also interesting to note that 8 per cent said that the officials would take action if the complaint is genuine.

TABLE V.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS REGARDING WHY THEY
THINK THAT THE OFFICIALS WILL TAKE ACTION ON
THEIR COMPLAINTS

<i>Perception</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
They are there to help us	26
It is their duty	36
They will take action when the complaint is genuine	8
Others	10
Don't know	20

Those who said that the officials would not take action, when asked as to the reasons for the same, about half of them said "No one cares for the poor". A few said that the officials tend to defend their subordinates, whereas about a fourth said that they do not know as to why action would not be taken.

TABLE V.4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS REGARDING WHY THEY
THINK THAT THE OFFICIALS WILL NOT TAKE ANY ACTION
ON THEIR COMPLAINTS

<i>Perception</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
They try to defend their subordinates	8
No one cares for the poor	47
Others	19
Don't know	26
Total	100

It is not enough to have a machinery for grievances, dealing with the grievances of the public. The public must have confidence and faith in the integrity of the administration for the machinery to be effective. The fact that nearly half of them would not make a complaint and further, the fact that among those who would make the complaint, more than 40 per cent

thought that no action would be taken by the officials, seems to indicate that at least as far as the redressal of the grievances of the public is concerned, the public is alienated from the administration.

Some general attitudes

A few statements were placed before the villagers and the officials, and they were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with them. Some of the statements were exactly the same for villagers and the officials.

Table V.5 gives a comparative picture as to the percentage of respondents agreeing or disagreeing with the statements.

Some of the statements could be classified as positive, and others negative. For example, the statement that "Administration cares for the welfare of the people", is positive if people agree with this statement, and it would indicate support. On the other hand the statement, "only people with approach to political party leaders can get things done" would be negative and agreement with this statement would indicate alienation.

Looking at the overall picture, it would seem that there is alienation rather than support both among the villagers and the officials to administration. The statements from 1 to 3 are positive whereas statements 4, 5 and 6 are negative. The statement No. 7 which was asked only of the villagers is positive. Of the statements 8, 9 and 10, which were asked only of the officials, 8 is positive. If we try to work out a mean of the agreement and disagreement of people, we could find that the difference between the officials and the villagers is not much in terms of support to the Administration*. One major difference might also be seen that where a democratic element is involved, the officials are comparatively less supportive. When questioned as to whether Panchayati Raj had improved administration at the Block, only 46 per cent of the officials agreed, whereas about 60 per cent of the villagers agreed. The contrast also comes out in the other statement "Strong leaders are more necessary than all laws and talks". Eighty-three per cent of the officials

*The mean has been worked out by adding up all those who agreed with positive statements and those disagreeing with the negative statements and dividing it by the total number of statements for each of the categories.

TABLE V.5
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS AND OFFICIALS WITH REGARD TO THEIR ATTITUDES
BASED ON THEIR AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT WITH STATEMENTS MADE BELOW

Attitudes	Officials			Villagers		
	Agree fully	Agree condi- tionally	D.K.	Agree condi- tionally	Disagree	D.K.
Administration cares for the welfare of the people	88	10	2	62	16	6
Administration after Independence is more efficient than it was before	65	8	20	55	12	7
Panchayati Raj has improved administration at the Block level	46	17	32	60	7	9
Only people with approach to political party leaders can get things done	54	27	17	84	2	4
Administration benefits only the rich and the influentials	57	19	23	81	4	3
Strong leaders are more necessary than all laws and talks	83	4	11	59	4	18
Officers are more approachable now than before Independence	—	—	—	70	5	7
Panchayati Raj has improved administration at the District level	43	15	30	—	—	—
There is no incentive for Government servants for good work	71	7	20	—	—	—
Government servants harp on their service rights more than their service obligations	39	11	43	—	—	—

TABLE V.6
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY CASTE/EDUCATION/AGE WHO EXPRESSED
THEIR AGREEMENT WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS

Attitudes	Caste				Education			Age	
	Brahmin	Farming castes	Trading artisans	Hartjans & Muslims	Illiterate	Literate	Educated	Below 40 yrs	41 yrs & above
Administration cares for the welfare of the people	17	41	6	36	43	24	33	50	50
Administration after Independence is more efficient than it was before	17	46	4	33	49	27	24	50	50
Panchayati Raj has improved administration at the Block level	16	50	6	28	51	28	21	48	52
Only people with approach to political party leaders can get things done.	14	50	4	32	54	33	26	38	62
Administration benefits only the rich and the influential	13	54	8	25	39	39	22	47	53
Strong leaders are more necessary than all laws and talks	14	42	8	36	37	38	25	38	62
Officials are more approachable now than before Independence	9	54	3	34	48	27	25	49	51

TABLE V.7
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY THEIR TOTAL LENGTH OF SERVICE AND EDUCATION
WHO EXPRESSED THEIR AGREEMENT WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS

<i>Attitudes</i>	<i>Length of service</i>				<i>Education</i>	
	<i>Below 3 years</i>	<i>4—6 yrs</i>	<i>7—9 yrs</i>	<i>10 yrs & above</i>	<i>Up to High School</i>	<i>College and Technical Education</i>
Administration cares for the welfare of the people	12	14	7	67	38	62
Administration after Independence is more efficient than before	9	28	10	53	51	49
Panchayati Raj has improved administration at the Block level	10	16	13	61	52	48
Only people with approach to political party leaders can get things done	7	16	8	69	41	59
Administration benefits only the rich and the influential	10	14	8	68	45	55
Strong leaders are more necessary than all laws and talks	17	20	17	46	—	—
Panchayati Raj has improved administration at the District level	11	9	11	69	56	44
There is no incentive for Government servants for Government work	12	5	16	67	35	65
Government servants harp on their rights more than their service obligations	11	20	15	54	39	61

agreed with this view, whereas only 59 per cent of the villagers agreed with this statement.

Tables V.6 and V.7 give a detailed break-up of the agreement of the villagers and officials with the statements, in terms of their personal characteristics, *e.g.*, caste, age, education, total length of service of officials, etc. A striking feature with regard to villagers is the high percentage of those who have agreed that "only people with approach to political party leaders can get things done", were illiterate and belonged to the age groups of 41 years and above.

It would seem that the villagers and the officials are both alienated from administration looking at the situation on the whole. Further, where a democratic element is concerned, the officials tend to be less supportive as compared to the villagers. There were a few who agreed with statements but with qualifications. By and large these qualifications were indicative of alienation, *e.g.*, with regard to the efficiency (statement No. 2) some said "yes—but corruption is spreading" or with reference to statement 1, many (officials) said "yes—but middle men do not allow the benefits to reach the public".

Administrative reforms

The next few questions referred more directly to reforms in administration. When the villagers were asked as to whether the present administration is capable of being reformed, 67 per cent said that it was. Twenty-four per cent said that they do not know, whereas only 9 per cent felt that the present administration could not be reformed. Two persons said that there was no need for reforms.

The same question was administered to the officials also. About three-fourths of them (74%) answered in the affirmative, whereas 18 per cent said that they do not know. Eight per cent said that the present administration cannot be reformed. This implied that a large majority of the officials felt there was need for reforms. In fact, there was evidence for this, because the next question asked was: "Do you think there is need for reforms in the present administration?" To this question, 69 per cent of the officials replied that there was, while 12 per cent of them said "no", and 19 per cent said that they do not know. Sixty per cent of those officials who felt the need for reforms in

administration had put in more than 10 years in Government service.

TABLE V.8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY THE RESPONSE REGARDING
ADMINISTRATION CAPABLE OF BEING REFORMED OR NOT

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Villagers</i>	<i>Officials</i>
Yes	67	74
No	9	8
Don't know	24	18
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100
n	300	85

TABLE V.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS' RESPONSES REGARDING
WHETHER THERE IS ANY NEED FOR REFORM IN ADMINISTRATION

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Officials</i>
Yes	69
No	12
Don't know	19

A question was asked if delegation of more powers to the lower level officials could help the villagers in getting things done. Only about half the officials felt that this would help, whereas about 30 per cent said that it would not. The remaining 20 per cent did not know. High percentage of villagers coming from farming castes in the category of respondents who have disagreed that more delegation of power would result in speedy administration, is significant. Again, villagers in the age group of 41 years and above were more supportive in approving more powers in the hands of lower level officials.

"Supposing an officer is appointed only to register and follow-up the complaints of the villagers, do you think your complaint will be attended to more quickly and effectively?" was the next question. Eighty-two per cent answered in the affirmative to this question, 13 per cent in negative and 5 per cent

did not know. A point to note is that 65 per cent of the respondents who have disapproved of the appointment of such an officer, are agricultural labourers and 71 per cent of such alienated respondents are above 40 years in age. The fact of the high percentage of people agreeing with this implies that at present, things are not being done effectively and quickly and the hope is expressed that if such an officer is appointed they might get quicker decisions and judgments.

TABLE V.10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY CASTE REGARDING THEIR VIEWS WHETHER DELEGATION OF MORE POWERS IN THE HANDS OF LOWER LEVEL OFFICIALS WOULD HELP VILLAGERS IN GETTING THINGS DONE MORE QUICKLY AND EASILY

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Brahmin	20	13
Farming castes	41	58
Trading and Artisan castes	7	1
Agricultural labourers	26	26
Others	6	2
Total	100	100

TABLE V.11

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY AGE REGARDING THEIR VIEWS WHETHER DELEGATION OF MORE POWERS IN THE HANDS OF LOWER LEVEL OFFICIALS WOULD HELP VILLAGERS IN GETTING THINGS DONE MORE QUICKLY AND EASILY

<i>Age</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>n</i>
Below 40 years	27	45	240
41 years and above	37	17	(100)

A similar question was asked of the officials also, though it was worded slightly differently: "Do you think, the appointment of an officer whose sole responsibility is to register and follow up the complaints of the villagers would help in a quick and effective disposal?" Sixty-five per cent answered in the affirmative, and 32 per cent in the negative. Three per cent did not know. The

TABLE V.12

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES REGARDING WHETHER APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL OFFICER FOR COMPLAINTS WOULD HELP IN QUICK AND EFFECTIVE DISPOSAL OF COMPLAINTS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Villagers</i>	<i>Officials</i>
Yes	82	65
No	13	32
Don't know	5	3

TABLE V.13

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY AGE REGARDING WHETHER APPOINTMENT OF AN OFFICER FOR COMPLAINTS WOULD HELP IN QUICK AND EFFECTIVE DISPOSAL OF COMPLAINTS

<i>Age</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Below 40 years	49	29
41 years and above	51	71

affirmative answer of 65 per cent of the officials seems to indicate that at present the complaints were not being disposed of quickly and effectively. This also would indicate that the officials were not supportive of the administration. It might also be interesting to note that when this question was asked of the villagers, quite a few of them said that "provided he is not like one of the present officials".

The officials who said that the appointment of such an officer would help, were asked as to what they felt should be status of such an officer. There was a great deal of variation among the responses. They ranked all the way from Amin to IAS officials. Seventeen per cent said it should be P.C.S. Class II. Some only said "official of high rank", "highly paid officials", or "gazetted officers". A few even mentioned members of the village panchayat. No clear picture emerges from the officials' responses regarding what the status of the "Complaint Officers" should be.

Questions about ministers

When the villagers were asked as to whether they thought they would approach the Ministers, 29 per cent answered in the

affirmative, and 60 per cent in the negative, 11 per cent did not know.

TABLE V.14
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY THE RESPONSES REGARDING
PRIMARY INTERESTS OF THE MINISTERS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Villagers</i>	<i>Officials</i>
Promoting national good	9	16
Promoting welfare of villagers	4	5
Strengthening political parties of their own	15	27
Strengthening their own political position	16	24
Combination	37	33
Don't know	19	5

The Table V.14 indicates as to what the villagers think the Ministers are primarily interested in. Only about 13 per cent mentioned specifically the promotion of national good and promotion of the welfare of the villagers—this is rather disturbing. On the other hand, about one-third of them seemed to think that the primary interest of the Ministers is to strengthen their own political party or their own political position. Seventy-one per cent of such respondents come from the farming castes (Table V.15). Also more than half of the respondents who held the view that the primary interest of the Ministers was in strengthening their political party or their political position, were illiterate (Table V.16). About 40 per cent gave some combinations. Also, the majority referred to the strengthening of the political position and the political party. On the whole, it could be seen that the villagers do not feel convinced that the Ministers are primarily interested in the welfare of the villagers or of the national good. These are less important for them as compared to the strengthening of their own political position.

Summary

From the data analysis regarding attitudes, it would seem that it is more of alienation among the villagers. Further, such

alienation is

(a) more among the illiterate villagers (Tables V.6 and V.16).

(b) more among the farming castes and agricultural labourers (Tables V.10 and V.15).

It was surprising to note that when probing questions have been used, there seems to be a clear indication that the officials themselves are alienated from administration.

TABLE V.15

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY CASTE REGARDING
THEIR VIEWS AS TO WHAT THE MINISTERS ARE PRIMARILY
INTERESTED IN

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Promoting national good</i>	<i>Promoting welfare of the villagers</i>	<i>Streng- thening the poli- tical posi- tion of their party</i>	<i>Streng- thening their own political position</i>
Brahmin	20	8	26	12
Farming castes	40	39	35	71
Trading & artisan castes	4	15	5	4
Agricultural labourers	28	38	30	9
Others	8	—	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100

The implications for reforms from this point of view are obvious. Unless the officials themselves are more supportive and positive regarding the total administration, it would not be possible to bring about effective reforms which would have their impact on the villagers. The need is then to analyse the reasons as to why the officials themselves are so alienated. If this alienation is remedied, it might go a long way in helping change the attitudes of the villagers. The fact that the officials themselves are so alienated would automatically mean that they are not serving the villagers to the best of their ability. This naturally would

TABLE V.16

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY EDUCATION
REGARDING THEIR VIEWS AS TO WHAT THE MINISTERS
ARE PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN

<i>Education</i>	<i>Promoting national good</i>	<i>Promoting welfare of the villagers</i>	<i>Streng- thening the poli- tical position of their party</i>	<i>Streng- thening their own political position</i>
Illiterate	32	39	58	55
Literate	28	23	21	18
Educated	40	38	21	27
Total	100	100	100	100

create resentment and apathy among the villagers and thus bring about alienation between the villagers and the administration. The image the villagers develop regarding administration is dependent on their contact with the officials. As has already been shown, the officials interviewed were mostly from the village, Tehsil and the Block levels. Naturally, if they are alienated from administration, they are not likely to provide a good image of the administration to the villagers. From this point of view, the alienation of the villagers is quite understandable.

It is to some extent interesting to note that when people were asked with regard to their preferences for getting some services, they seem to be supportive of the administration, but on the other hand the responses to the questions regarding their attitude indicate a lack of confidence and a sense of alienation. The need is to change the image of administration not only among the villagers but also among the officials themselves.

CHAPTER VI

CORRUPTION

The people's image of administration is formed not only by the functions the Government performs but also by their confidence in the justice and integrity among public officials. Janowitz in his study refers to this aspect as the public's belief in the "Principle Mindedness" of civil servants and defines it thus: "By principle mindedness we mean that the administrative system operates promptly in response to individual needs without corruption, with equal and fair treatment and without undue consideration of a person's professional agents or of his "political affiliation".¹ How "principle minded" is our own administration? This is a valid question, viewed against the increasing number of facilities and services being provided by the Government. If the administration is providing these services and facilities, do they reach down to the people whom they are meant for? For example, the farmers are being exhorted to produce more. In order to achieve this, they have to be provided with irrigational facilities, quality seeds, fertilizers and sometimes Taccavi loan. In making available these services to the people, does administration act impartially or is it subject to other influence? Do the people who are entitled to these services and who fulfil and conform to the rules and procedures laid down, enjoy the benefits or are these services distributed to the persons who can influence the officials either by the position they hold in society or by illegal gratification?

Ultimately, the problem of corruption has a close relationship to the confidence among citizens to get the services or things done through governmental agencies by their own efforts. This confidence will be shaken if all the services and facilities can be

¹ Morris Janowitz, Deil Wright, Williams Delaney, *Public Administration and Public Perspectives Towards Government in a Metropolitan Community*. (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Bureau of Government, 1958), p. 45.

had only at a cost and at the whims and fancies of the administration. In the former case, administration will enjoy the support of the people but in the latter, it will only be alienated from them.

To find out the extent of support or alienation of the people from administration, some questions were posed to the respondents regarding the prevalence of corruption among officials dealing with Revenue, Irrigation, Health Departments and also with seeds and fertilizers. The officials were also asked identical questions in some cases about the extent of corruption and the causes. They were further asked whether they think corruption can be eliminated or reduced. Finally, some statements were made and they were asked either to express agreement or disagreement with them. This was a further attempt to get at their views regarding corruption in general.

Extent of corruption

The first question that was asked to the people with regard to corruption, referred to the number of officials the villagers thought were corrupt in the various Departments.

TABLE VI.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY THEIR OPINION REGARDING THE EXTENT OF CORRUPTION AMONG THE OFFICIALS IN THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Revenue</i>	<i>Seeds</i>	<i>Fertilizers</i>	<i>Irrigation</i>	<i>Health</i>
None	27	60	66	44	49
Few	10	8	7	13	19
Half and more	35	13	7	25	7
Don't know	28	19	20	18	25
n	293	247	280	280	295

The table gives the frequency distribution in terms of the number of officials thought to be corrupt. Thirty-five per cent of the villagers felt that more than half of the Revenue Department officials were corrupt. Actually, 15 per cent said that all the officials in the Revenue Department were corrupt. In contrast to this, the number of officials thought to be corrupt in the

Health Department is small. As far as the Department dealing with seeds and fertilizers is concerned, the people have indicated greater confidence in their integrity as 60 per cent or more feel that none of the officials are corrupt. In the Health Department, it is 49 per cent, in the Irrigation Department, 44 per cent and in the Revenue Department 27 per cent. The two most corrupt Government Departments according to the Table VI.1, are Revenue and Irrigation. These responses were further classified in terms of the characteristics of the villager respondents. It is to be noted that about 55 per cent of the villagers who either said that "majority" or "all" Revenue officials are corrupt, come from the farming castes. A majority of such responses also come from those villagers who were illiterate. Illiterate villagers, however, were more definite about their views about Irrigation officials—66 per cent of those who said "majority" and 52 per cent of "all" responses came from such respondents.

The image of corruption in the minds of the villagers differs considerably in the three States. There is difference also between the Departments. For the Revenue officials, 53 per cent villagers from the Punjab say that "none" are corrupt, while the highest percentage of those saying that "all" are corrupt is from Mysore. For the officers dealing with the supply of seeds, 70 per cent villagers from Mysore say that none are corrupt. In case of Irrigation officials also a similar response is given by 79 per cent of the Mysore villagers. With reference to corruption among Health officials, villagers from the Punjab have the highest percentage of those who say that "none" are corrupt.

TABLE VI.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY DISTRICTS
REGARDING THEIR OPINION AS TO HOW MANY REVENUE
OFFICIALS ARE CORRUPT

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>U.P.</i>	<i>Mysore</i>
None	53	20	6
Few	3	14	12
Half and more	22	15	23
All	8	11	26
Don't know	14	38	30

TABLE VI.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY DISTRICTS
REGARDING THEIR VIEWS AS TO HOW MANY OFFICIALS
DEALING WITH THE SUPPLY OF SEEDS,
ARE CORRUPT

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>U.P.</i>	<i>Mysore</i>
None	36	44	70
A few	9	9	1
More than half	15	7	—
All	7	3	—
Don't know	—	27	19

TABLE VI.4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY DISTRICTS
REGARDING THEIR VIEWS AS TO HOW MANY
IRRIGATION OFFICIALS ARE CORRUPT

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>U.P.</i>	<i>Mysore</i>
None	27	18	79
A few	12	22	3
More than half	27	11	1
All	18	11	—
Don't know	13	32	6

TABLE VI.5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS BY DISTRICTS
REGARDING THEIR VIEWS AS TO HOW MANY HEALTH
OFFICIALS ARE CORRUPT

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>U.P.</i>	<i>Mysore</i>
None	78	48	17
A few	8	9	38
More than half	6	1	12
All	3	—	1
Don't know	3	39	32

There is a comparatively large percentage of "Don't know" responses. This is partly because, as the background information indicates, about 18 per cent of the population did not own any land, and consequently, they would have very little to do with the Revenue Department, seeds and fertilizers, or the Irrigation Departments. With regard to the Health Department, about 33 per cent had said that they do not go to the Government dispensary for getting any treatment, and this would explain the high percentage of "Don't know" responses in that department.

The confidence of the public in the integrity of the Revenue and the Irrigation Department is much less than in the Departments which supply seeds and fertilizers and also the Health Department.

Officials' view

The officials who were thought to have some contact with the particular Departments were also asked as to what percentage, they thought was corrupt in the Departments. The information given in Table VI.6 emerged.

TABLE VI.6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY THEIR OWN
OPINION REGARDING THE EXTENT OF CORRUPTION AMONG
OFFICIALS IN THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Revenue</i>	<i>Seeds</i>	<i>Fertili- zers</i>	<i>Irriga- tion</i>	<i>Health</i>
None	9	56	53	23	27
Few	17	20	22	14	30
Half and more	52	18	18	49	26
Don't know	22	6	7	14	17
n	64	45	45	35	30

Only nine per cent of the officials thought that none in the Revenue Department was corrupt, whereas more than half of them felt that a majority of the officials were corrupt. For the Irrigation Department also, about 50 per cent of the officials felt that more than half were corrupt. There exists a real discrepancy between the official responses and those of the villagers with regard to the Health Department. Whereas only 26 per cent

of villagers mentioned that there was corruption among the Health officials, 56 per cent of the officials felt that officials in the Health department were corrupt.

When we look at it from the statistical point of view, the picture does not actually seem to be too dismal, but the overall impression that one got in the village was that whenever administration was mentioned, the dominating factor seemed to be that of corruption.

It is possible that as the villagers have more direct contact mostly with the officials working at the village level, they would consider only those people as corrupt, whereas others with whom they did not come to contact very much may not be considered non-corrupt. From this point of view, we might be able to explain as to why a high percentage of the officials felt that a larger percentage of the officials were corrupt.

Some experiences

In almost all the villages visited, it seems to be commonly understood that the canal man had to be paid fixed amounts for supplying water. It is also generally known that the Patwari has to be paid for any work that he has to do, such as making records, verifying land holdings, etc. The villagers talked about this freely, but when the question was asked probably they were not willing to commit themselves as the responses were being recorded. One would have thought that this picture of corruption was operative in the relations between the officials and the villagers but according to the officials, this seems to be operative even among the officials themselves.

The Block Development Officer complained that unless the clerical staff in the Tehsil Office is bribed or entertained, they would not accept their registers in which the entries are made about the Taccavi loan. One village level worker said that in the nearby shop, sweets were not available, he had to take the Tehsil officers further away where the sweets were available. The clerical staff in the Tehsil would not accept these registers till they had been entertained to tea and sweets.

Some of the officials also complained that when they do see corruption, they are not able to really complain to the Department concerned, as a Government official. For example, if a Government officer finds a bus conductor indulging in some corruption,

the complaint he makes would be treated as that of an ordinary citizen, not as coming from an officer, and consequently, he feels that it is too much of a botheration for him to do so. One Tehsildar said that as he was from an outside place, he could not control corruption in his office, although he knew it existed. He said that the local people had enough contact with the local politicians to bring pressure for his transfer if he tried to do anything about it. Under the circumstances, he felt that the best policy was to let things go on.

The President of one of the Panchayat Samitis said that he had applied over a year for getting electric connections for his tubewell, but he did not get it. When questioned as to why he did not try to get the help of the MLA, he said that he had tried, but the MLA had told him that he himself (that is the MLA) had to pay Rs. 100 through his clerk to the official concerned to get the connection. His advice to the President of the Panchayat Samiti was to do likewise. The President of a Panchayat Samiti posed this question. The Government wants the people to increase agricultural production, but on the other hand, we find that no support is given to provide the necessary inputs. He said it was easier to get cement to build a cinema hall rather than a tubewell. Many such instances came to light, although the figures may not quite indicate the feeling. As has already been pointed out, the most dominating picture of administration among the people is that of corruption.

Causes of corruption

The villagers and the officials were asked as to why they thought there was corruption. Both among the villagers and the officials, the reason mentioned more often than any other was "matter of habit". From this point of view, it would look as though corruption has become institutionalised as an accepted behaviour both among the villagers and the officials. Of course, the villagers feel that they have no other alternative but to pay the bribe in order to get even the legitimate thing done, and a few among both the officials and the villagers (less than 5%) mentioned that the requests from the villagers are irregular and illegal. There was a slightly larger percentage of officials than the villagers, who said that the salaries were inadequate. But on the other hand, greed was mentioned more often by the public but by a

minimum of officials.

Commenting on the matter of habit, some said "After all, the Revenue Department is old and its tradition has been to harass the village people". A few of the villagers said that their illiteracy and ignorance is exploited by the officials. The officials with particular reference to the supply of seeds and fertilizers, said that the shortage affords an opportunity for officials to take bribes. The villagers mentioned this aspect in the case of medicines also. Some of the other reasons mentioned by the villagers were, "living beyond their means", "to build their own houses".

One of the major complaints of the officials was that they had to spend a large amount on the entertainment of higher officials and Ministers who come on tour. They said that their salaries are inadequate, and consequently, they have to resort to some way of recovering the amounts and this leads to corruption. This complaint was made by officials at all the levels. All of them complained that the officials are granted the daily allowance while they are on tour, but none of these higher officials paid to the lower officials, for the entertainment given. It is almost taken as a right by the higher officials to be entertained by the lower officials. As these officials' entertainment tends to be fairly sumptuous, more particularly when the political leaders are visiting, the officials referred to make up their "loss" in some form or the other. For this, they usually resorted to taking some bribe from the villagers to make up for this.

It is not being suggested that if the officials were to start paying for their entertainment, corruption would stop. Nevertheless, this seems to be one of the major reasons that has been pointed out by the officials. There is need to probe further into this question as to whether the higher officials really pay the people with whom they stay on their tours.

Elimination of corruption

Among the villagers, except for the Department of Health, 60 per cent of the people felt that corruption in the Department can be eliminated and about another 10 per cent felt that it could be reduced. Only about 10 per cent felt that nothing could be done. Among the officials, a larger percentage felt that corruption can be eliminated. The number of officials who felt that

corruption in the Revenue Department can be eliminated was the lowest whereas for the Department of seeds and fertilizers, more than 80 per cent felt that this could be done. The major difference between the officials and the villagers seems to be in the field of Health. While 71 per cent of the Health officials felt that corruption in their Department can be eliminated, only 29 per cent of the villagers felt so. Sixty-five per cent of the villagers said that they did not know whether corruption could be eliminated. This is probably due to the fact that more than a fourth of the villagers do not go to the Government hospitals for treatment.

TABLE VI.7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE WHO THOUGHT CORRUPTION CAN BE ELIMINATED IN THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Revenue</i>	<i>Seeds</i>	<i>Fertilizers</i>	<i>Irrigation</i>	<i>Health</i>
Eliminated	61	61	63	64	29
Reduced	14	8	7	16	6
Nothing can be done	10	10	7	11	—
Don't know	15	21	23	9	65
n	127	61	43	109	113

TABLE VI.8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS WHO SAID CORRUPTION CAN BE ELIMINATED IN THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Revenue</i>	<i>Seeds</i>	<i>Fertilizers</i>	<i>Irrigation</i>	<i>Health</i>
Eliminated	64	82	89	77	71
Reduced	24	12	11	14	18
Nothing can be done	11	—	—	5	6
Don't know	—	6	—	4	5
n*	44	17	18	22	17

* The 'n' is different here in this table because some of them said that "none of the officials are corrupt", or "don't know".

Tables VI.7 and VI.8 give the distribution of percentages according to whether the villagers and the officials felt that corruption can be eliminated.

Some suggestions

When the respondents were asked to make suggestions as to how corruption can be eliminated or reduced, the villagers seem to lay a little more stress on the need for reform among the officials themselves, whereas, among the officials, change of procedure was mentioned more often.

Suggestions of the villagers varied from "people should not offer bribe" to that of "Shooting corrupt officials". The major trend was that corrupt officials should be dealt with severely, that there should be strict supervision and control on officials, while a few mentioned change of procedures and some, a combination of those. Another suggestion frequently mentioned was an increase in supply of seeds, medical facilities, etc. Some also said that officers at higher level should set a good example.

As has been indicated already, major emphasis among the officials was with reference to the changing of procedures. A few mentioned strict supervision and control and among the more concrete suggestions made were the issue of pass-book to cultivators indicating their holdings, which would mean that the cultivators do not have to go to the Patwari every time for verification. Some of them also suggested that the local people should not be appointed even as Class III and Class IV employees as "they are the real trouble-makers". Quick adequate supplies, honesty among the higher officers and political leaders, and increase of salaries were some of the suggestions. A few also mentioned educating the villagers so that they would not pay the bribe.

Some statements were given and both the officials and the villagers were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement (see Table VI.9). The first statement was "officials will always be corrupt". Twenty-nine per cent of the villagers and almost a similar number (25%) of the officials agreed with this statement. However, among the officials 65 per cent disagreed with the statement, whereas among the villagers, it was only 40 per cent. A large percentage of villagers (31%) said "don't know". With regard to the statement that "the salaries of officials were low and so they have to accept bribes", there was

a clear difference between the officials and the villagers. Percentages for agreement were 45 for the officials and only 10 for the villagers. Fifty-four per cent of the villagers and 43 per cent of the officials disagreed with this statement. This indicated two points of view.

- (i) That salaries are low and people may have to accept bribes because of this;
- (ii) Even if the salaries are low, they would not take bribe.

TABLE VI.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS AND OFFICIALS
ACCORDING TO THEIR AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT
TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS

<i>Statements</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Dis- agree</i>	<i>D.K.</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Offi- cials dis- agree</i>	<i>D.K.</i>
1. Officials will always be corrupt	29	40	31	25	65	10
2. Salaries of officials are low, so they take bribes	10	54	36	46	43	11
3. Villagers are more responsible for corruption than officials	23	44	33	44	41	15

Among the villagers, this was the feeling expressed quite often. Nearly one-third of them did not express any opinion whereas the percentage among the officials was only 11.

A third statement given was that "people are more responsible for corruption than the officials". Among the villagers, about one-fourth (23%) agreed with this, while about a half (44%) disagreed, whereas one-third (33%) said "don't know".

Among the officials, the distribution was 44 per cent agreed, 41 per cent disagreed and 15 per cent don't know. The variation is with regard to "agreed", whereas a larger percentage of the officials agreed with this, compared with the villagers. This is partly understandable, as the villagers would not blame

themselves for the corruption in administration. However, one-third of the villagers said "don't know".

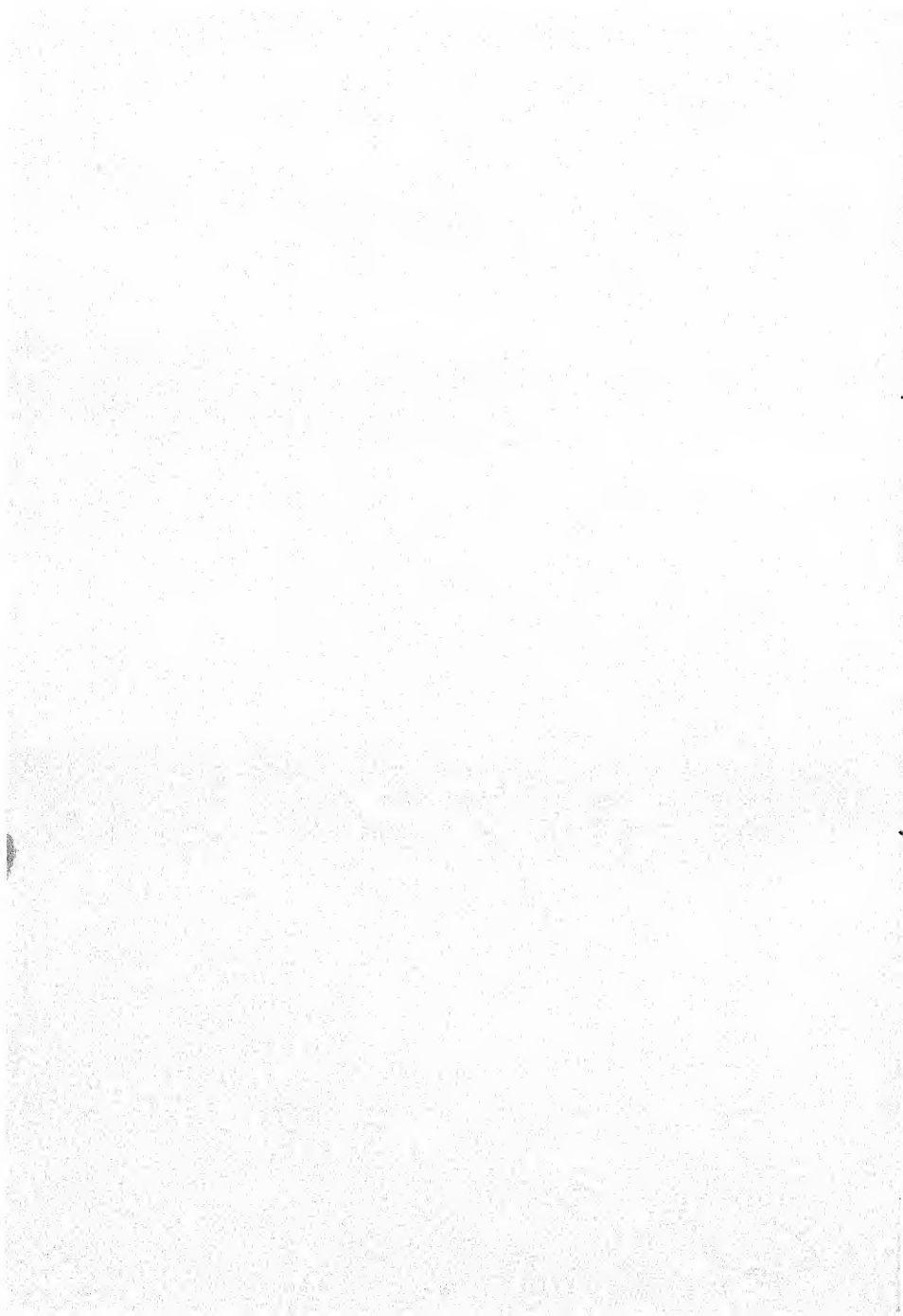
The figures seem to indicate that the fault is not all on one side. As has already been indicated, some of the villagers say that sometimes the requests of the villagers are for irregular or illegal work, and consequently, the officials exploit this type of situation.

Summary

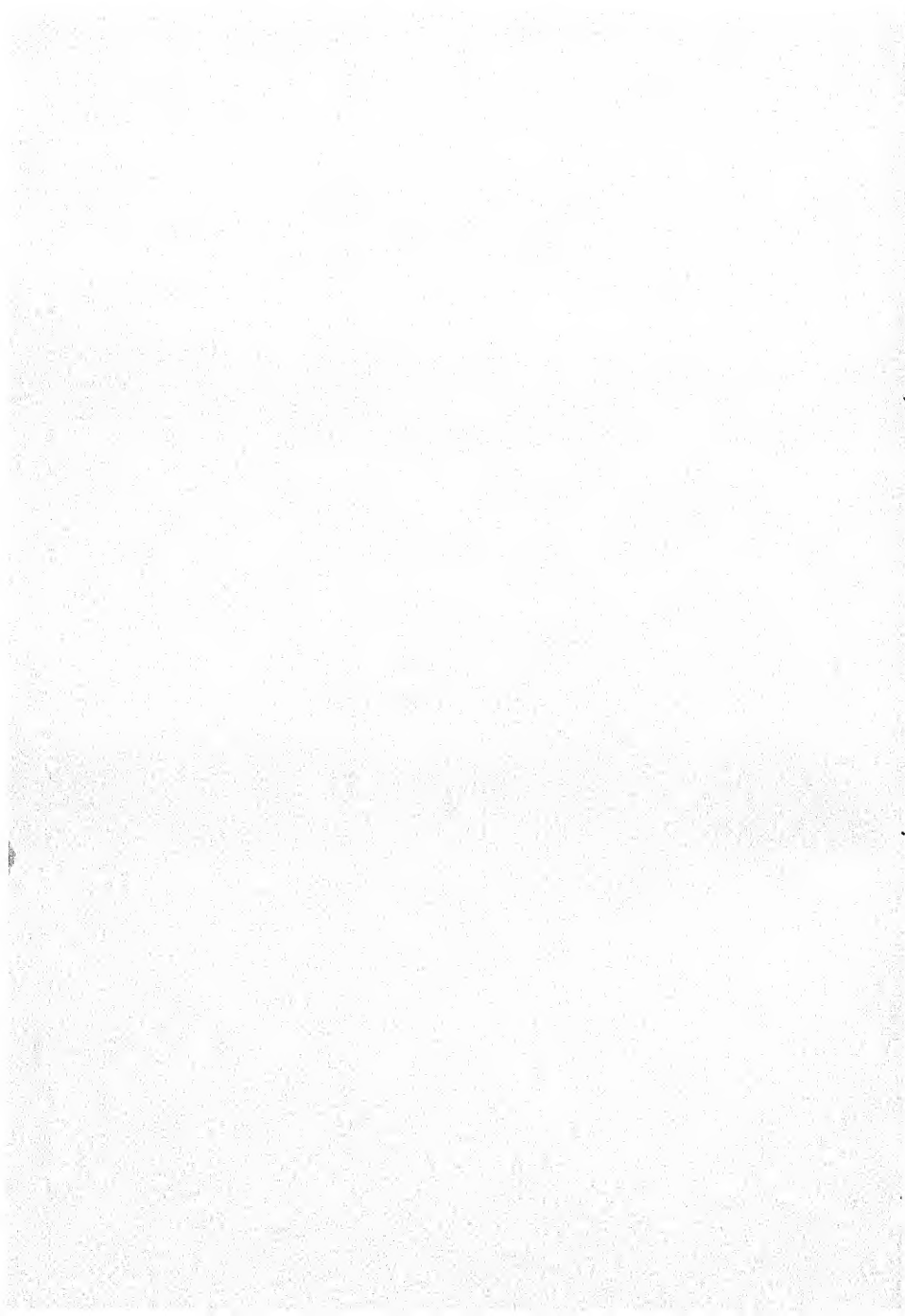
Among the four Government departments, taken up here, the Revenue and Irrigation departments have been viewed as more corrupt by more respondents, in comparison to seeds, fertilizers and Health. Such responses are in marked predominance among villagers belonging to farming castes and those who were illiterate. It can generally be said that the image is favourable to administration in the Punjab and unfavourable in Mysore.

The most frequently mentioned reason for corruption was that it was "a matter of habit" with the officials. It looks as though corruption has become institutionalised and accepted official behaviour. "Greed" among the officers was mentioned more frequently by the villagers than the officials themselves. Low pay of the officials as a cause of corruption was ruled out by the villagers, who were of the opinion that the officers "try to live beyond their means" and build "houses". A higher percentage of officials than the villagers were inclined to put the responsibility for corruption on the villagers.

In spite of this image and alienation to a large extent, the respondents were not so sceptical about possible improvement. Sixty-five per cent of the officials and 40 per cent of the villagers disagreed with the statement that "officials will always be corrupt". In response to another question, an overwhelming majority of both villagers and officials felt that it is possible to eliminate or reduce corruption. This would mean that it is not impossible for the officials to gain support of the public, as the public does seem to have faith in the possibilities of a change in the administrative process, and subsequently, the elimination of corruption.



PART II
The Officials' Responses



THE OFFICIALS' RESPONSES

It has been indicated earlier that it is not only what the administration does but how the public perceives of the action, is important for administration to win the generalised support from the people that gives legitimacy to the administrative action in a democracy. Villagers' support or alienation to administration has its origin in the way in which the officials, engaged in the service departments of the Government, administer the services. Administration should not only devise a judicious way to administer the services but it should also be aware of the image that the public has about the administration. This knowledge of the popular feelings and perception should help in the improvement of administrative procedure and behaviour.

Officials were asked questions with regard to public relations, communication and grievances. Officials who come in contact with the villagers should have a realisation of the importance of their relationship with the villagers. The popular image of administration is shaped by the personal behaviour of the officials.

Communication system in any organisation is important. For understanding and implementing the decision taken at a higher level, the need for a proper communication cannot be over-stressed.

The officials were asked questions on the nature, sources, the magnitude of public complaints. Specific questions in the areas of public relations, communication and grievances were also asked. Their responses have been analysed in the next few pages.

It may be of interest here that knowledge of the officials regarding the Administrative Reforms Commission itself, was not very encouraging. When the officials were asked as to who the Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission is, 55 per cent of them were not able to give answer whereas 40 per cent could do so. As regards the data of the appointment of the Commission only 26 per cent were aware and 68 per cent were not aware. A larger percentage of the officials in Punjab were

aware in both these matters as compared to the other States.

TABLE

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY AWARENESS
REGARDING THE CHAIRMANSHIP AND THE DATA OF
APPOINTMENT OF THE ARC

<i>Awareness</i>	<i>Chairmanship</i>	<i>Date of appointment</i>
Aware	40	26
Not aware	55	68
Not ascertained	5	6

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Officials' relations with the public have been studied from the viewpoints of their training for maintaining good relations with the villagers, their perception of the popular image of the officials' behaviour and attitude towards the problem of public relations as such.

Training

Training of officials for specialised job which they were expected to do is considered to be an important factor. Seventy-four per cent of the respondents said that they did receive special training for their present job. But only 45 per cent said that public relations was included in the training programme.

It is interesting to note that 93 per cent of the officials said that they have to work beyond normal official hours, the most frequently mentioned reasons being that "work load is heavy" and "we have no office hours".

Officials were also asked if adequate arrangements at the headquarters exist to attend to the villagers in their absence. Seventy-two per cent of the officials said that such arrangements are there as "substitute attends to the work".

Purpose of the villager-official contact

Villagers come in contact with the officials for different purposes. Thirty-seven per cent of the officials said that villagers come with requests for services. Redressal of grievances is mentioned only by seven per cent of the respondents. Specific items like revenue work, land record, revenue litigation were mentioned by six per cent of the officials. Different purposes were mentioned in combination with one another by 39 per cent.

Seventy-six per cent of the officials felt that villagers make extra demands on them over and above what the officials think are normal services provided by their department. A majority

of officials (55%) giving this response belonged to the younger age groups (*i.e.*, below 40 years) and who have put in more than 10 years of service (62%). Most of these respondents said that these excess demands were about more services.

Officials' perception of public relations

Perception of the officials about public relations has to be seen in the context of the above facts mentioned by them. Almost all the officials said that they thought villagers can easily approach the officials of their department. Asked about their feeling of the overall idea of the villagers regarding functioning of their department (see Table VII.1) 26 per cent definitely said that it is "very good". Thirty-eight per cent classified the villagers' feelings under "good" and 28 per cent said that the villagers thought that their department is functioning satisfactorily. Of the 7 respondents (8%) who said that the overall idea of the villagers is that the department is functioning unsatisfactorily, 6 are from Punjab and 1 from U.P.

TABLE VII.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING THEIR
FEELINGS OF VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE FUNCTIONING
OF THEIR DEPARTMENT

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Very good	26
Good	38
Satisfactory	28
Unsatisfactory	8
n	85

Panchayati raj as a link between officials and the villagers

It is also of interest to find out if Panchayati Raj institutions have been effective in enlisting public cooperation. Forty-eight per cent of the respondents said that public cooperation has increased after the establishment of Panchayati Raj. The percentage of such responses in Mysore is 62, whereas in U.P. and Punjab it is 55 and 30 respectively. Of the 25 per cent respondents who said that the Panchayati Raj institutions have

brought a decrease in public cooperation, the percentage distribution in Punjab, U.P. and Mysore is 37, 31 and 4 respectively. An equal per cent (25), said that there has been "no difference" in public cooperation as a result of the Panchayati Raj. This response also amounts to saying that Panchayati Raj institutions have not been effective in increasing public cooperation, which was expected of them. So, the percentage of officials saying that public cooperation has not increased as a result of the establishment of Panchayati Raj is 50. It is to be noted that an overwhelming majority of such responses have been given by officials who had put in more than 10 years of service. "Party politics and factionalism" is mentioned quite often as a reason for decrease by those who said that cooperation had decreased.

TABLE VII.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING THEIR VIEW
OF EFFECTIVENESS OF PANCHAYATI RAJ IN SECURING
PUBLIC COOPERATION

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Increased	48
Decreased	25
No difference	27
n	85

TABLE VII.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY LENGTH OF SERVICE
WHO SAID THAT PUBLIC RELATION HAS DECREASED AFTER
THE INTRODUCTION OF PANCHAYATI RAJ, OR THAT
THERE HAS BEEN NO DIFFERENCE

<i>Length of service</i>	<i>Decrease</i>	<i>No difference</i>
Below 3 years	9	5
4—6 years	9	14
7—9 years	5	18
10 years and above	77	63

TABLE VII.4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY DISTRICTS REGARDING THEIR VIEWS WHETHER PUBLIC COOPERATION HAS INCREASED OR DECREASED AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PANCHAYATI RAJ

<i>Station</i>	<i>Increase</i>	<i>Decrease</i>	<i>No difference</i>
Punjab	30	37	33
U.P.	57	32	11
Mysore	62	4	34

Attitudes of officials

There were some questions which indicated the attitude of the officials towards their dealings with the villagers. An initial question was the officials' attitude towards the comparative importance of "serving the villagers" and "following the orders of the superiors". Thirty-eight per cent of the officials said that they considered "serving the villagers" as more important, while 15 per cent said that they cared more for "following orders of the superiors". Thirty-eight per cent said that both are important. Fifty per cent of those who felt that orders of the superiors were more important, came from the category of officials who had put in more than 10 years of service. And 57 per cent belonged to the age group of 41 years and above.

TABLE VII.5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY THE TOTAL LENGTH OF SERVICE AND AGE REGARDING THEIR VIEW OF COMPARATIVE IMPORTANCE OF "SERVING THE VILLAGERS" AND "FOLLOWING THE ORDERS OF THE SUPERIORS"

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Length of service</i>				<i>Age</i>	
	<i>Below 3 yrs.</i>	<i>4—6 yrs.</i>	<i>7—9 yrs.</i>	<i>10 yrs. & above</i>	<i>Below 41 yrs.</i>	<i>41 yrs. & above</i>
Serving the villagers	15	24	15	47	62	38
Following the orders of the superiors	7	7	29	50	43	57
Both are important	6	6	—	84	50	50

In reply to a question in which the officials were asked to evaluate their relations with the villagers, 53 per cent said that they thought their relations with villagers to be "very good", 44 per cent considered it to be "good" and three per cent said it was "satisfactory", while none of the respondents said that it was "bad". The Punjab has the highest percentage (60%) of officials who said that their relations with villagers were "very good", while the corresponding percentages from U.P. and Mysore are 48 and 40 respectively. It is to be noted that all the respondents from U.P. said either "very good" or "good" about their relations with the villagers.

Almost all (92%) of the officials admitted that public cooperation was very important for their department. In reply to a further question as to what extent the department was getting such cooperation, 54 per cent said that the villagers were cooperating to a large extent, while 42 per cent said that it was to some extent. Two irrigation officials from Punjab said that "none" of the villagers cooperated with their department.

Ninety-two per cent of the respondents said that they wished greater cooperation from villagers than what their departments were getting. Forty-six per cent of these respondents said in a general way that "there should be greater participation of the people". Cooperation in the form of timely repayment of dues and loans from the Government was mentioned by nine per cent. Percentage of officials saying that they expected "Cooperation in keeping rules and laws" is eight.

Popular image of administrative behaviour

The officials were also asked to give their evaluation of popular image of officials in terms of efficiency, courtesy and corruption. The Table VII.6 gives an overall picture of the responses.

It is interesting to note that 13 per cent of the respondents said that all the villagers would say that they are efficient—the percentage being lowest in U.P. (3%). With regard to courtesy, 25 per cent of the officials said that all the officials would be considered courteous by the villagers. Percentage of officials who felt that majority of the villagers would say that they are efficient and courteous is 65 and 61 respectively. Coming to the question of corruption 29 per cent of the officials said that some

of the villagers would say that none of the officials are corrupt and 41 per cent of the officials only a "few" villagers would say so.

TABLE VII.6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS ABOUT THEIR EVALUATION OF THE POPULAR IMAGE OF OFFICIALS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Majority</i>	<i>About half</i>	<i>Few</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>D.K.</i>
Efficient	13	65	7	5	—	10
Courteous	25	61	7	1	—	6
Corrupt	4	8	9	42	30	7

n = 85

TABLE VII.7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY LENGTH OF SERVICE AND AGE REGARDING THEIR VIEWS AS TO HOW MANY VILLAGERS WOULD SAY THAT OFFICIALS ARE EFFICIENT

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Length of service</i>				<i>Age</i>	
	<i>Below 3 yrs</i>	<i>4—6 yrs.</i>	<i>7—9 yrs.</i>	<i>10 yrs & above</i>	<i>Below 40 yrs.</i>	<i>41 yrs & above</i>
All	—	13	—	87	55	45
Majority	—	9	27	64	58	42
About	9	15	11	65	33	67
Few	17	—	17	66	50	50

The analysis suggests that the evaluation of popular image of officials by the officials themselves differs with regard to efficiency, courtesy and corruption. With regard to the efficiency and courtesy none of the officials have said that "none" of the villagers would say that officials lack these qualities, but with regard to corruption 62 per cent of the officials have indicated that the villagers feel that corruption exists among the officials with differing magnitudes.

The officials were asked if they thought it necessary to explain

to the villagers the reasons for decisions taken by them. Sixty-eight per cent of the officials said that they thought such an explanation was necessary. Asked about the reason for this, 56 per cent of these respondents said that "people have to be convinced". Eight per cent thought such an explanation necessary in order to enlist public cooperation. Out of the 11 officials who said that they did not think it necessary to explain to the villagers the reasons for their decisions, 3 said that there was "no need to explain", while 2 said that "it is not possible to explain".

TABLE VII.8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY TOTAL LENGTH OF THEIR SERVICE REGARDING THEIR VIEWS WHETHER THEY THINK IT NECESSARY TO EXPLAIN TO THE VILLAGERS THE REASONS FOR THEIR DECISION

<i>Length of service</i>	<i>Yes</i>
Below 5 years	7
4—6 years	13
7—9 years	10
10 years and above	68

Probing further for the officials' actual behaviour in this respect, they were asked whether they found it possible to explain to the villagers the reasons for their decisions. Sixty-five per cent of the respondents said that they can. Further, of those who said that they can, the largest percentage (75%) was from among those who had put in more than 10 years of service. Of the 17 officials who said that they do not find it possible to give such explanation, four said that there were procedural and administrative difficulties involved, and one revenue officer said that he does not have time to explain.

They were further asked whether they have heard villagers criticising them about the performance of their duties. Fifty-two per cent said that they have, while 47 per cent said that they have never heard the villagers criticising about the performance of their duties. Among those officials who said that such criticisms are made, 61 per cent belonged to the younger age-group, *i.e.*, below 40 years. Respondents who said that they have heard villagers'

criticism were asked as to what sort of things do they criticise the officials about. Twenty-seven per cent of these respondents said that the criticism was about the shortage of supplies, services, etc. Nine per cent said that the complaint is (1) delay in sanctioning loans due to mistake in land records, etc. Villagers' complaint about partiality of officials was mentioned by 7 per cent of respondents. A combination of these responses was mentioned by 11 per cent.

TABLE VII.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY TOTAL LENGTH OF SERVICE REGARDING THEIR RESPONSE WHETHER THEY FIND IT POSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN THEIR DIFFICULTIES TO THE VILLAGERS

<i>Length of service</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Below 3 years	11	6
4—6 years	13	24
7—9 years	13	—
10 years and above	63	70

TABLE VII.10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY AGE WHO SAID THAT THEY HAVE HEARD VILLAGERS CRITICISING THEM

<i>Age</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Below 40 years	61	46
41 years and above	39	54

The respondents were further asked to give their views whether they thought such a criticism was fair or unfair. Thirty-five per cent of these officials who had occasion to hear public criticism, said that it was unfair and 26 per cent indicated that criticism was fair. Eighteen per cent said that some criticisms were fair while some others were unfair.

Summary

The overall view is that the officials seem fairly satisfied with their performance with regard to public relations. Only eight

per cent of the officials felt that their Department was not functioning satisfactorily. Further, none of the officials felt that their relations with the villagers were bad. Even when questioned about their perception of the villagers regarding their behaviour, none of the officials said that villagers would accuse them of being inefficient or discourteous. However, a majority of the officials felt that the villagers would say that at least a few of them are corrupt. Except in this regard, they seem to have a fairly satisfactory image of themselves. They are aware of the criticism among the villagers as also the types of criticisms. About half of them said that they had heard the villagers criticising and about another half had not heard. Among those who had heard the criticism, there was a fairly even distribution of those who thought the criticism was fair and those who thought that the criticisms were unfair. All of them indicated the need for public cooperation and said that more needs to be done in this area. Further, only about half of them said that Panchayati Raj had helped in increasing cooperation.

Most of these questions were related to their own departments and consequently, we find that there is a fairly supportive element. The supportive element is more evident among the more experienced of the officials, *i.e.*, those who had put in more than 10 years of service. However, the same people seem to be alienated from the total administration.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNICATION

Efficient and effective administration depends to a large extent on effective functioning of the communication system in an organisation. Decisions taken at higher levels of administration need to be communicated properly to the lower levels to be administered with understanding.

Instructions about official dealing with villagers

The officials were asked whether Government has issued instructions to lower levels with regard to dealing with villagers. Forty per cent of the respondents said that such instructions have been issued, whereas 46 per cent said that there are no such instructions. It is interesting to note that 60 per cent of the Punjab officials have indicated the existence of such instructions, while the corresponding percentages for U.P. and Mysore are 24 and 35. The question was probed further so as to get the points of emphasis in these instructions. Fourteen per cent of the respondents who had given the affirmative reply, said that the instructions emphasise "enlightening and persuading villagers about programmes". "Courteous behaviour to villagers" and "giving proper guidance to villagers" were mentioned by 12 per cent and 10 per cent of the respondents.

TABLE VIII.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY DISTRICT WITH REGARD TO A QUESTION WHETHER INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING DEALING WITH VILLAGERS HAVE BEEN ISSUED

<i>States</i>	<i>Yes</i>
Punjab	60
U.P.	24
Mysore	35

The officials were also asked about the method of communication of these instructions. Twenty-five per cent of these officials who said that instructions are there, said that these are in the form of written orders. Particular forms of written orders like Circulars and Government Orders were mentioned by another 17 per cent of the respondents. So, in effect, 42 per cent of the officials said that instructions are given in written form. "Staff meetings" and oral instructions were mentioned by seven per cent and nine per cent respectively. Instructions through both written and oral means were mentioned by 28 per cent of the respondents.

TABLE VIII.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS' RESPONSES REGARDING
THE METHOD OF COMMUNICATION

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Written orders (D.Os. etc.)	25
Circulars and G.Os.	17
Staff meetings	7
Publicity material	4
Oral instructions	9
Both written and oral	28
Others	2
Don't know and not ascertained	8
n = 53	

Printed Manuals

Printed manuals giving the details of the office procedures ensure uniformity of procedures. In addition to this individuals who want to get acquainted with the procedures are able to get them all in one place in the manuals. The officials were asked whether their departments had such manuals. Seventy-four per cent of the officials said manuals are available in their departments. Asked about the languages in which the manuals were available, 23 per cent of these officials said that the language was English—percentage being 27 of the Mysore officials, 23 in Punjab and only 3 in U.P. Eleven per cent of the officials said that the manuals were printed in Hindi—percentages being 21 in U.P., 3 in Punjab and none in Mysore. Sixty per cent of the officials

interviewed, however, said that the manuals were available in more than one language—including regional languages.

Officials were asked whether the departments had some publicity material to educate the villagers regarding procedures followed by the departments. Thirty-seven per cent of the officials said that there is no such material and 56 per cent replied that the departments had publicity material. It is to be noted that affirmative answer was given by 69 per cent of the respondents in U.P., 60 per cent in the Punjab and 38 per cent in Mysore.

TABLE VIII.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS' VIEWS ABOUT THE
EXISTENCE OF PUBLICITY MATERIAL

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Yes	56
No	37
Don't know	7
n = 85	

TABLE VIII.4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY DISTRICT REGARDING
THE AVAILABILITY OF PUBLICITY MATERIAL TO EDUCATE THE
VILLAGERS REGARDING PROCEDURES

<i>States</i>	<i>Yes</i>
Punjab	60
U.P.	69
Mysore	38

Officials who said that such publicity materials exist, were also asked about the nature of these materials. Thirty per cent of these officials said that there were pamphlets and leaflets. Printed manual was mentioned by nine per cent. These responses along with posters and films, were mentioned in combination with one another by 36 per cent of the respondents.

Genuine difficulties of the departments

Government departments which are expected to provide

services to the villagers may have many genuine difficulties like paucity of funds, materials, etc. It may not always be possible for the departments to provide service to the extent expected from them, due to these difficulties. But if these difficulties are not communicated to those who avail of these services, the net impression among the villagers is that the departments are unable to provide services or that there is corruption. The officials were asked whether the villagers are told about the difficulties of the department. Seventy-eight per cent of the respondents said that the difficulties are communicated to the villagers. About one-fourth (27%) said that the communication is through the departmental staff. Fifteen per cent said that villagers are told about the difficulties when they come to the office. More than half of both these responses came from officials who were below 40 years of age. Communication through meetings was mentioned by nine per cent. Percentage of "Don't know" is high as about 20 per cent had said that villagers were not told of the difficulties.

TABLE VIII.5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING THEIR OPINION
AS TO THE DIFFERENT WAYS THE DIFFICULTIES ARE
COMMUNICATED TO VILLAGERS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Through departmental staff	27
Meetings	9
Not our concern	2
No arrangement	4
When villagers come to office	15
Through circulars and notifications	5
Others	13
Combination of responses	6
Don't know	19

Perception of the procedures followed by the department

The officials were asked about their general perception of the procedures followed by the government departments—whether they are complex, satisfactory or simple. Forty-three per

cent said that it was simple and 27 per cent thought the procedures to be satisfactory. Twenty-six per cent of the officials said that the procedure was complicated for the villagers to follow.

TABLE VIII.6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS WITH REGARD TO
COMPLEXITY OF PROCEDURES

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Complicated	26
Satisfactory	27
Simple	43
Don't know	4
$n = 85$	

TABLE VIII.7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY AGE REGARDING
THEIR VIEWS AS TO WHAT EXTENT VILLAGERS ARE AWARE
OF THE PROCEDURE FOR AVAILING THE SERVICES

<i>Age</i>	<i>To a large extent</i>	<i>To some extent</i>
Below 40 years	54	42
41 years and above	46	58

A natural question after this was the extent to which the villagers were aware of the procedures. Fifty-eight per cent of the officials said that the villagers were aware to a large extent, while 32 per cent said that awareness was only to some extent. Only six per cent said that the villagers were not at all aware. A larger percentage of officials belonging to the age-group of below 40 years were sure about the awareness of the villagers.

It is clear from the data of both the questions that among officials themselves, less than half said that procedures are simple and just more than half were of the opinion that among the villagers there was awareness to a large extent.

Officials who said that the awareness was to a large extent, were further asked as to the means through which the villagers are made aware of the procedures. Twenty per cent of these

officials said that the procedures are communicated through "personal contact" and an equal percentage said that it is through departmental officials at the village level. Meetings as a mode of communication was mentioned by 11 per cent of the respondents. All these media were mentioned in combination with each other by 28 per cent.

TABLE VIII.8
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS' VIEWS ABOUT THE
VILLAGERS' AWARENESS OF PROCEDURES

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
To a large extent	56
To some extent	32
Not at all	6
Don't know	4
$n = 85$	

Those officials who said that awareness among the villagers was only to some extent or not at all were also asked as to what they thought was the reason. Fifty per cent of these respondents said that it was due to illiteracy among the villagers. Twelve per cent mentioned disinterestedness of the villagers. Combination of these reasons was mentioned by 15 per cent of the respondents. Among the suggestions made were: better contact with villagers; publicity by "beat of drums"; increased use of non-officials; and procedures should be published in local languages.

The next question was that if a villager wants details of procedures followed by any department, will he be able to get all the information at any one place. Eighty-five per cent of the officials replied in affirmative.

Panchayati Raj as communication channel

Panchayati Raj institutions as popular bodies engaged in development activities are expected to facilitate greater knowledge to the villagers about procedures followed by the Government Departments. A question was asked of the officials to know their perception about the role of Panchayati Raj institutions in this respect. Forty-two per cent of the respondents said that

Panchayati Raj institutions have facilitated greater publicity "very much" while 27 per cent said that this has been the case only "to some extent". Thirty per cent gave critical answer by saying that Panchayati Raj institutions have not been effective in this respect. Officials with experience of more than ten years of service were less sure about the effectiveness of Panchayati Raj. From the point of view of their age also, older officials have expressed doubts about these popular institutions. Sixty-two per cent respondents, who said that the Panchayati Raj has "very much" facilitated the publicity work, were below 40 years in age. It is to be noted that among the respondents who said that the Panchayati Raj institutions have not been effective in facilitating greater publicity regarding the procedures, there was a variation among the three States under study. While the percentage of respondents giving such replies is 43 in Punjab and 38 in U.P., in Mysore it is only eight. Consequently, the percentage of respondents in Mysore saying that Panchayati Raj institutions have been useful to a large extent is higher in Mysore than the corresponding percentage in Punjab and U.P.

TABLE VIII.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING THEIR
VIEWS ABOUT EFFECTIVENESS OF PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS
IN EFFECTING BETTER PUBLICITY

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Yes, very much	42
Yes, to some extent	27
No	31
$n = 85$	

Summary

A majority of the officials said that communication to the villagers is through written material. Obviously this would mean that a majority of the villagers would not be able to make use of them as the percentage of illiteracy was quite high. It is also interesting to note that nearly one-third of the officials said that they have no publicity material through which the villagers are educated regarding the procedures to be followed in their departments,

TABLE VIII.10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY LENGTH OF SERVICE
REGARDING THEIR VIEWS WHETHER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
PANCHAYATI RAJ HAS FACILITATED GREATER PUBLICITY
REGARDING PROCEDURES FOR AVAILING THE SERVICE

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Length of service</i>			
	<i>Below 3 yrs</i>	<i>4—6 yrs.</i>	<i>7—9 yrs.</i>	<i>10 yrs. & above</i>
Yes, very much	5	19	16	57
Yes, to some extent	8	8	16	68
No	8	12	8	68

TABLE VIII.11

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY STATES REGARDING
THEIR VIEWS WHETHER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PANCHAYATI RAJ
HAS FACILITATED GREATER PUBLICITY REGARDING
PROCEDURES FOR AVAILING THE SERVICE

<i>States</i>	<i>Yes, very much</i>	<i>Yes, to some extent</i>	<i>No</i>
Punjab	47	10	43
U.P.	31	31	38
Mysore	50	42	8

such responses being almost double in the Punjab and U.P., in comparison to Mysore. About three-fourths of the officials said that the genuine difficulties of the department in fulfilling the needs of the villagers are communicated to the villagers through departmental staff or when the villagers visit the offices or through meetings. Only about one-fourth of the officials felt that the procedures in their departments are complicated. Except for 60 per cent, the remaining felt that the villagers are aware of the procedures. Officials in the age-group of below 40 years are more sure about the villagers' awareness. There is a gap between the villagers' view and that of the officials as the villagers seemed to indicate that they were not always aware of the procedures.

About two-thirds of the officials felt that the introduction of the Panchayati Raj has helped in being more effective in communicating to the villagers. Officials with longer service and above 40 years are less supportive of these institutions. The picture here also is one of general satisfaction among the officials with regard to communication with the villagers.

CHAPTER IX

GRIEVANCES

The experience of the public and their perception as to how administration deals with their grievances has a great bearing whether the public would be supportive or be alienated from it. Questions on public grievances were posed to the officials with reference to their experience of villagers' complaints, sources of complaints such as delays, possible solutions and their attitude towards these complaints.

Officials' experience of villagers' complaints

In reply to a question whether the villagers had ever made any complaint to the officials, 51 per cent said that the villagers did complain, while 47 per cent replied in negative. It is to be noted here that percentage of officials saying that they had had occasions when villagers complained to them, is 27 in Mysore, 57 in U.P. and 63 in Punjab.

TABLE IX.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY DISTRICTS WHO SAID
THAT THEY HAVE RECEIVED COMPLAINTS FROM VILLAGERS

<i>States</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Punjab	63
U.P.	57
Mysore	27

Officials who said that they have received complaints from villagers were asked as to what they can do about it. Forty-eight per cent said that they "take action whenever possible". Twelve per cent said that they refer the complaints to the department concerned and 7 per cent sent the complaint "to our higher officials". One development official from Punjab said that he cannot do anything. Percentage of officials who said that they take action whenever possible is 35 in U.P., 23 in Punjab and 11 in Mysore.

Sixty-five per cent of officers giving such a response had an experience of more than 10 years in government service. Also, among the officers who showed initiative in taking action on villagers' grievances, 55 per cent belonged to the age-group of below 40 years.

Forty-seven per cent of the officials who said that the villagers never complained to them, were asked about the reasons for this. Forty-six per cent of such officials said that the villagers have no occasion to complain because "officials are doing a good job". Sixteen per cent of the officials (all from Mysore) said that they did not complain to them because these officials had no subordinates about whom complaints could be made. One revenue official from Punjab said the villagers "fear the lower staff" who may create trouble for them if complaints are made.

Nature of complaints

The officials were further asked to indicate as to how many of the complaints are genuine and how many had only nuisance value.

TABLE IX.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING THEIR
VIEWS ON THE VILLAGERS' COMPLAINTS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Majority</i>	<i>About half</i>	<i>Few</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>D.K.</i>
Genuine	3	17	6	52	—	22
Nuisance	4	23	12	28	15	18

n = 85

More than half (52%) of the officials said that only a few complaints are genuine. The percentage for "all", "majority" and "about half" is 26. But for the question as to how many complaints have only nuisance value, 43 per cent said "few" and "none". Percentage of respondents who said that more than half (all, majority and about half combined) of the complaints have only nuisance value is 39. Of those officers who said that only a "few" complaints made by the villagers are genuine 72 per cent belong to the group who have spent more than 10 years in service. Also, 80 per cent of those who said that a majority of complaints have only a nuisance value, come from the same group. More

than half of the respondents thought that only a few complaints were nuisance. The data suggest that there is a general feeling among the officials that villagers complain for nothing—because more than half of the officials said that only a few complaints were genuine and 39 per cent felt that more than half of the complaints had only a nuisance value.

TABLE IX.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY LENGTH OF SERVICE AND AGE REGARDING THEIR OPINION AS TO HOW MANY APPLICATIONS FROM VILLAGERS HAVE ONLY NUISANCE VALUE

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Length of service</i>				<i>Age</i>	
	<i>Below 3 yrs.</i>	<i>4—6 yrs.</i>	<i>7—9 yrs.</i>	<i>10 yrs. & above</i>	<i>Below 40 yrs. & above</i>	<i>41 yrs. & above</i>
Majority	10	—	10	80	40	60
A few	10	15	10	65	55	45

Magnitude of villagers' requests

Eighty-eight per cent of the officials replied in affirmative when asked whether villagers come to them with requests. Fifty-eight per cent of these officials felt that these requests are "too many", and 25 per cent said "not many". While 16 per cent said that there are only "a few" requests.

TABLE IX.4

PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING THEIR VIEW ON THE MAGNITUDE OF REQUESTS BY VILLAGERS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Too many	58
Not many	25
A few	16
Others	1

n = 85

It is interesting to note here that the percentage of officials who said that villagers come to the departments with "too many"

requests is 62 in Mysore, 53 in Punjab and 38 in U.P.

To a further question, 68 per cent of the officials said that almost all (39%) or majority (29%) of the requests made by the villagers concerned their departments. Eleven per cent said that only a few concerned their department.

The data suggests that even the officials felt that most of the requests by the villagers are or should be provided by their departments, but more than half of the officials felt that the requests are "too many".

Departmental procedure after requests are received

After an application for a request is submitted to a government department, written acknowledgement to the application and entry into a register meant for it is thought to be a necessary procedure. The officials were asked whether these procedures are maintained in their departments.

TABLE IX.5
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING
OFFICE PROCEDURE

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Yes</i> %	<i>No</i> %	<i>D.K.</i>
Acknowledging applications	54	46	—
Entering applications in a register	84	15	1

The table clearly indicates that just over half of the officials say that villagers' applications are acknowledged. Percentage of such respondents in Punjab, Mysore and U.P. are 50, 62 and 38 respectively.

Officials who said that applications received are entered in a register, were also asked if they thought, it was useful in disposing of the applications quickly. Sixty per cent of these officials said that it helps "very much", while 31 per cent said that the usefulness was only to some extent. Nine per cent said that it was of no use. These responses came from U.P. and Punjab.

After an application is received, it passes through many stages. Each stage should have a specified time within which decisions on

TABLE IX.6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY DISTRICTS WHO SAID THAT VILLAGERS' APPLICATIONS ARE ACKNOWLEDGED

<i>States</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Punjab	50
U.P.	38
Mysore	62

applications should normally be taken. It is also thought necessary that periodical statements of the pending cases be prepared, so that arrear work does not continue to be accumulated. One of the major complaints is that there is delay in the disposal of these complaints. Officials were asked if these procedures were followed in their departments.

Twenty-nine per cent of officials who said that no time limit is fixed for each stage, included 42 per cent of the officials from Mysore, 33 per cent from Punjab and 14 per cent from U.P.

TABLE IX.7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING STEPS FOR SPEEDY ACTION

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>D.K.</i>
Time specified for each level	80	11	9
Preparation of statement of pending cases	69	14	17

The four respondents who said that they did not know of the time limit, belong to Punjab (3) and U.P. (1).

Among the 60 per cent of respondents who said that periodical statements of pending cases are prepared, percentage of Mysore officials is 85, while it is 77 and 48 in Punjab and U.P. respectively.

In reply to the question whether such a statement is useful, almost all those officials who said that statement is prepared in their department said that it is useful for quick disposal of cases. Eighty-five per cent of those who said that statement is not prepared in their departments, admitted that preparation of such statement would help.

TABLE IX.8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY DISTRICTS WHO SAID THAT MEASURES FOR SPEEDY ACTION HAVE BEEN TAKEN

<i>Response item</i>	<i>Responses</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>U.P.</i>	<i>Mysore</i>
Time specified for each level	Yes	57	52	54
	No	33	14	42
Preparation of statement pending cases	Yes	77	48	85
	No	13	24	4

Asked about the periodicity of this statement, 69 per cent of the officials who indicated its presence, said that it is prepared every month, while 10 per cent said that it is an yearly statement.

Perception of officials regarding the villagers' feeling of delay

On the same problems of delay in reaching decision on villagers' requests the officials were further asked as to what they feel about such delay—is this feeling fair or unfair? It is interesting to note that the percentage of respondents who said that such a feeling is fair is 49 and of those who say that this is unfair feeling the percentage is 40. A majority of the officials who felt that such a feeling was "fair", had longer years of service (10 years and above) and belonged to the older age group.

The respondents who said that this feeling is unfair were further asked as to what in their opinion is the reason for such a widespread feeling. It is surprising that 27 per cent of the respondents who said that feeling is unfair either gave no reasons or said that they do not know.

Twelve per cent of the respondents said that such a feeling was due to "general maladministration", 10 per cent said that many people complain "for nothing" and 17 per cent felt that "people want quick decision regardless of rules and procedures".

Respondents who said that the feeling about the delay among the villagers is fair were asked as to where they think delay occurs. Complicated procedure was indicated to be the reason by 18 per cent of the respondents, 15 per cent said that "departmental heads do not pay heed to the requests". Different levels which an application has to pass through, *i.e.*, village level, block

level, tehsil level and district level were mentioned in combination by 26 per cent of the respondents.

TABLE IX.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS' VIEW REGARDING
THE VILLAGERS' PERCEPTION OF DELAY

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Fair	49
Unfair	40
Don't know	4
Not ascertained	7
<i>n</i> = 85	

TABLE IX.10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY LENGTH OF SERVICE
AND AGE WHO AGREED THAT VILLAGERS' FEELING OF
DELAY IN REACHING DECISION IS FAIR

<i>Length of service</i>			<i>Age</i>		
<i>Below 3 yrs.</i>	<i>4—6 yrs.</i>	<i>7—9 yrs.</i>	<i>10 years & above</i>	<i>Below 40 yrs.</i>	<i>41 years & above</i>
12	12	14	62	44	56

How to overcome delays?

As indicated above, about half of the officials themselves said that there is a feeling among villagers that time taken in reaching decision on villagers' requests, is fair. The officials were asked to indicate the possible ways in which this delay could be avoided. Eleven statements, indicating the possible solutions were placed and the respondents were asked if these steps would expedite action on villagers' requests. The statements indicated efforts by the villagers as well as of the office which also include procedural improvements. It is to be noted that the percentage of officials accepting the power of speed-money is 31. Although these statements had the lowest percentages of affirmatives, the number is significant. Another statement about the efforts of the villagers in following up the application personally, has 58 per cent affirmative answer. Statements about procedural

improvements, like "if procedures are simplified", "if procedures are made known to the public", and "if number of levels in the procedure is reduced", were all accepted as improvements by over 70 per cent of the respondents. Improvements in the behaviour of the officials, like "officials become more helpful" and "if officials avoid tossing papers", were supported by 80 per cent and 72 per cent of the officials respectively. Surprisingly effective inspection and supervision is accepted as an improvement by 85 per cent of the officials.

Table IX.12 is an analysis of the data given in Table IX.11 by years of service and age of the officials. Among those agreeing with statements, a large percentage comes from the group which has been in service longer.

TABLE IX.11

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING
THE WAYS TO AVOID DELAYS

<i>Statements</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. If inspection/supervision is made more effective	85
2. Officials become more helpful	80
3. If time is specified for each stage	80
4. If number of levels in procedures is reduced	78
5. Villagers submit applications complete in details	77
6. If procedures are made known to the public	76
7. If procedures are simplified	75
8. If work load on staff is reduced	72
9. If officials avoid tossing papers	72
10. Villagers follow up personally	58
11. Villagers pay bribe	31

$n = 85$

A high percentage of officials agreeing to improvements in procedures, in official behaviour as well as in the efforts of the villagers is significant from the point of view of alienation, which is the central point of our enquiry. All the statements are in a way loaded, and affirmative answers to these may well mean that officials do not think that administration is functioning satisfactorily. The need for improvement is obvious.

TABLE IX.12
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY LENGTH OF SERVICE AND AGE WHO HAVE GIVEN
AFFIRMATIVE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING WAYS OF AVOIDING DELAYS

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Length of service</i>				<i>Age</i>	
	<i>Below 3 yrs.</i>	<i>4—6 yrs.</i>	<i>7—9 yrs.</i>	<i>10 yrs. & above</i>	<i>Below 40 years</i>	<i>41 years & above</i>
1. Villagers follow up personally	6	17	17	60	46	54
2. If procedure is simplified	6	16	16	62	47	53
3. Officials become more helpful	6	14	13	67	53	47
4. Villagers pay bribe	10	17	21	52	52	48
5. Villagers submit applications complete in all details	6	13	10	71	50	50
6. If work load on staff is reduced	6	13	13	68	50	50
7. If procedure is made known to public	4	15	10	71	37	63
8. If time is specified for each stage	7	14	12	67	51	49
9. If number of levels in procedure is reduced	6	14	12	68	50	50
10. If officials avoid tossing papers	9	14	14	63	50	50
11. If inspection/supervision is made more effective	7	15	11	67	53	47

How strong is the "political pull"?

With the advancement in democratic institutions, "political pull" is said to be used by the villagers to get their requests granted. Eighty-five per cent of the officials said that political pull is used by the villagers—44 per cent said that its use is "very much" while 32 per cent felt that it is "to some extent". These percentages are higher in Punjab and U.P. than in Mysore.

After ascertaining these feelings it was of interest to know as to who are the persons through whom the pressure is brought about. Legislators as a class who put pressure on officials was mentioned by 20 per cent of the respondents who accepted the use of political pull. Out of 14 such respondents 9 belong to Punjab, 2 to U.P. and 3 to Mysore. Panchayati Raj office holders were mentioned by 13 per cent. Seventeen per cent said that pressure is brought about by other political leaders. Other sources of political pressure were mentioned in combination with each other by 48 per cent of the respondents.

Panchayati raj and "political pull"

It is of interest to note that 75 per cent of the officials said that use of political pressure has increased after the establishment of Panchayati Raj—percentage in U.P., Mysore and Punjab is 83, 77 and 67 respectively. Sixty-nine per cent of the officials who said that pressure has increased after the introduction of Panchayati Raj, have more than 10 years of experience in service.

There is a general feeling among the villagers that if he has complaint against officials and makes one to higher authorities, ultimately the papers come back to the official concerned so that the person against whom the complaint is made sits in judgment over the complaint. The officials were asked to indicate whether they think this feeling is true or false. Thirty-four per cent of the officials said that this feeling is true—17 per cent saying that it is wholly true and an equal percentage indicating that the feeling is partly true. The percentage of officials who said that such a feeling among the villagers is baseless, is 53 per cent. More than half of the respondents who said that the feeling is wholly true, are less than 40 years of age and 74 per cent of those who expressed their partial agreement, are older in age, *i.e.*, over 40 years. Those respondents who said that such feeling is true were asked to suggest as to what can be done to improve the

TABLE IX.13

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING THE EXTENT TO WHICH VILLAGERS USE
"POLITICAL PULL"

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Very much	44
To some extent	32
None	14
Don't know	2
Not ascertained	8
<i>n</i> = 85	

TABLE IX.14

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY DISTRICTS, LENGTH OF SERVICE AND AGE, WHO SAID
THAT THE VILLAGERS USE POLITICAL PULL TO GET THEIR REQUESTS GRANTED

	States			Length of service			Age		
	Punjab	U.P.	Mysore	Below 3 yrs.	4—6 yrs.	7—9 yrs.	10 yrs. & above	Below 40 yrs.	41 years & above
Very much	50	41	39	7	16	21	66	46	54
To some extent	23	45	27	14	7	10	69	52	48

TABLE IX.15

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING THE
SOURCES OF POLITICAL PULL

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Legislators	20
Panchayati Raj office holders	13
Other political leaders	17
Caste and faction leaders	2
Combination	38

n=69

situation. Sixty-three per cent of such respondents said that "higher officials could make direct enquiries and take actions", and 17 per cent said that "in case of corruption identity of the complainant should be kept confidential".

Summary

Only 26 per cent of the officials felt that about half the complaints made by the villagers are genuine, whereas 39 per cent felt that about half of them are only of nuisance value. More than three-fourths of both these responses came from officers who had put in more than ten years of service in Government. Only about half the officials said that there is time specified at each level for the disposal of particular application, and 69 per cent of the officials said that statement of pending cases is made. For both of these procedural improvements the percentage in U.P. is lower than the Punjab and Mysore. Almost all of them are of the view that specified time would help in a quicker disposal of application. It is interesting to note that about half the officials felt that the villagers' complaint about the delay is fair. Such a feeling was expressed by a majority of the officials with ten years of experience in service and belonging to the age-group of 41 years and above. Procedural changes were suggested as a major means of overcoming delays, including officials becoming more helpful. Seventy-five per cent of the officials felt that the villagers used "political pull" to some extent at least in getting things done, and this had increased after the establishment of the Panchayati Raj. Officials with longer years of service experience, again, were in the majority

TABLE IX.16

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS REGARDING THE EXTENT TO THE USE OF "POLITICAL PULL" AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PANCHAYATI RAJ

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Increased	75
Decreased	5
No difference	12
Don't know	1
Not ascertained	7

n = 85

TABLE IX.17

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY DISTRICTS, LENGTH OF SERVICE AND AGE, WHO SAID THAT POLITICAL PRESSURE HAS INCREASED AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF PANCHAYATI RAJ

Districts		Length of service			Age			
Punjab	U.P.	Mysore	Below 3 yrs.	4-6 yrs.	7-9 yrs.	10 years & above	Below 40 yrs.	41 years & above
67	83	77	7	17	7	69	52	48

among those who gave such response. The fact that they admit the feeling of delays means that they agreed to the need of procedural changes and feel that more can be done to alleviate the conditions of the village people. This admission also indicates that they are not too satisfied with the functioning as at present, which, to some extent, might indicate a sense of alienation.

PART III



CHAPTER X

MACHINERY FOR GRIEVANCES IN STATES : A DESCRIPTION

The term "grievance" is used here in a wider sense. It refers not only to any real or imaginary feeling of personal injustice the citizens may have, concerning their relationship with administration, but also their feelings, again real or imaginary, of injustice in regard to the delay in the provision of services which they expect. The grievance procedure means a formal system of steps through which a dissatisfied citizen can take this discontent or complaint for redressal to successively higher levels of administration.

A democratic system like ours has certain built-in devices for airing of citizens' grievances and for protection of their rights, e.g., the free press, the legislature and the judiciary. Nevertheless, any citizen, especially the villagers, finds them beyond his reach, considering the situation in which he is placed. In some of the other countries, the institution of Ombudsman (or its counterpart in Russia, the Procurator-General) has been of great help. Under that system, instead of the citizen having to seek remedy on his own, it is the Ombudsman or the Procurator-General that takes up his grievance and follows it to the end. The Administrative Reforms Commission in their first interim report have already recommended the establishment of a similar institution in the Indian system of administration. But it has yet to be seen whether this institution will be able to percolate down to, and prove effective at, the level of an average villager. Be that as it may, the check by Ombudsman will be external. Considering the size of the country, the education and level of social awareness of the common citizen, as well as the vastness of the points on which he has to come in contact with the administration, it seems inevitable that the Government machinery will continue to need to have internal checks also.

The system of receiving applications and petitions from the

public is not a new phenomenon. In a minute recorded about 150 years ago, Sir John Malcolm, agent to the Governor-General said "one of the first points of importance is that whatever be their rank, class or business, the public should have complete and easy access to personal communication with their European superiors." A century later, the I.C.S. Manual emphasised that, "It is one of the most important duties of all Government Officers and of District Officers to be freely accessible to all who desire to see them on business".*

In the post-independence period, a number of enquiries have taken place in various States, by individuals or committees, in connection with the administrative reforms at the State and District Levels. Some of the enquiries took place even in the pre-independence period. In most of the enquiries, one of the direct points of emphasis has been the one in regard to attending to the difficulties and complaints of citizens and the administrators. In the wake of developmental administration getting greater momentum, a number of State Governments have issued formal orders during the past few years regarding the procedures for handling of applications and petitions from citizens. An attempt is made in the following paragraphs to spotlight the salient points of the measures adopted by various State Governments.

A. AT THE STATE LEVEL

The State Governments, with a few exceptions, have issued formal instructions in regard to the handling of applications and petitions from the public: exceptions, for example, are Orissa and Jammu & Kashmir.

(i) *The complaints officer*

The State Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Punjab and West Bengal have designated an Officer (or officers) charged specifically with the responsibility of dealing with complaints of citizens. Spelled out in greater detail, the designation of the officer in various States is as follows:

1. Andhra Pradesh Assistant Secretary in each department is required to be nominated to attend the public relations work.

*Quoted by Ram K. Vepa, "The District Collector and the Public", *New Administrator*, July 1964; also by "Etiquettes for Civil Servants", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Jan.-March, 1964.

- | | | |
|----------------|---|---|
| 2. Gujarat | } | Deputy Secretary in each Department. |
| 3. Kerala | | |
| 4. West Bengal | | |
| 5. Madras | | Besides an Assistant Secretary incharge of a Central Complaints Cell, there is an Officer immediately below the Head of office in each Department. |
| 6. Mysore | | Gazetted Officer working in each Department. |
| 7. Punjab | | Besides the Director of Grievances (Joint Secretary to Government) for the State as a whole, there is a Public Grievances Officer of the status of an Under Secretary. |
| 8. Rajasthan | | There is a State Directorate for Removal of Public Grievances at the state level to listen to and deal with the grievances of the public as well as those of the employees of the State Government. The Director is an <i>ex-officio</i> Secretary to Government. |

(ii) *The department of grievances in Punjab and Rajasthan*

In Punjab, the Government have provided at the State level, a separate Department of Grievances for streamlining Government's policy and its implementation in regard to removal of public grievances. The functions of the Grievances Department are two fold: (1) to assist in policy formulation in regard to redressal of public grievances, and (2) to ensure effective and speedy action on the complaints received at the Secretariat level.

The main function of the Directorate of Public Grievances in Rajasthan is to enquire into the cases of delay and inattention to public grievances by the various departments.

(iii) *Other arrangements*

Some of the State Governments have adopted certain other measures for dealing with public grievances. In Andhra Pradesh a Central Reception Officer is provided in the Secretariat for attending to enquiries and requests, a receptionist in each Department of the Secretariat, and one of the officers in each Head of Department is nominated to attend to public relations work. The Government of Kerala has issued special instructions for

dealing with the applications and petitions received by the Governor and have also asked the officers to set apart a particular time for receiving petitions from the public. Mysore and other States have issued instructions to their officers for setting aside definite hours to receive petitions from the public. In Mysore, a "cell for assistance to public" has been set up in each Secretariat Department.

(iv) The varying patterns

What is stated above is by and large the general pattern of arrangements for attending to citizens' grievances. The system obtaining in some other states represents a marked deviation from this general pattern.

The Government of Bihar have issued instructions to all the gazetted officers of the State to set apart one hour between 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. on every working day for hearing public grievances. The officers have also been instructed to maintain a register in which the name and address of the person interviewed is to be entered together with a list recorded very briefly of the grievances put forth and the action taken thereon. The superior officers have also been instructed to make it a point to check these registers in the course of their surprise inspections and to record their comments.

The then Government of Bombay (now the Government of Maharashtra) issued an elaborate notification in 1958 containing rules for the preparation, submission and disposal of applications to Government. The instructions to officers emphasised that the applications should invariably be formally acknowledged. It also elaborated on the type of applications on which action need not be taken, the need for sending an interim reply where the disposal is likely to take some time and the need for dealing with applications on an urgent basis.

In Rajasthan, communications from the Directorate of Removal of Public Grievances are required to be paid special attention and follow-up. Detailed procedure has been laid down for dealing with applications and petitions from the public.

The Government of U.P. have issued separate detailed instructions for the disposal of, and enquiry into, complaints against government servants.

(v) *Role of ministers in the grievances procedure*

The Governments of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Punjab have specifically fixed the role of Ministers in the redressal of public grievances. In Gujarat, every Minister and Deputy Minister fixes a programme for each District at suitable intervals for the purpose of dispensing off all the applications of members of the public concerning the subjects which are in his portfolio. The Chief Minister is free to look into complaints concerning any department. The Collector is required to give intimation sufficiently in advance to the local press in respect of each visit of the Ministers and Deputy Ministers. The Collector is also required to inform local people that they may send their applications regarding matters which they wish to raise. Furthermore, all applications received in the Secretariat Departments or by the Collectors are processed by the Collectors and kept ready before the arrival of the Minister or Deputy Minister. The Deputy Secretary of the concerned Department who is nominated for the purpose, reaches the District sufficiently well in advance and with the help of the District Officers concerned, examines all the cases in detail and prepares comments as to what action is required to be taken on each case for the use of the Minister at the time of touring. The applicants whose cases can be dealt with, are requested to come on a given date, time and place and represent their cases before the Minister or Deputy Minister.

In Maharashtra, Districts have been assigned to the Ministers and Deputy Ministers for their specific attention. During their tours in the district allotted to them the Ministers receive applications, petitions, etc., from the members of the public for redressing their grievances.

The instructions issued by the Government of Punjab say that each member of the Ministry will preside over the District Public Relations and Grievances Committee monthly, if possible, but quarterly definitely. The instructions provide that tours of Ministers should be well-planned and announced well ahead.

(vi) *Miscellaneous*

(a) *Acknowledgement of applications, petitions, etc.* : The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Maharashtra, Mysore, Rajasthan, and U.P., have issued specific instructions that the applications, petitions, etc., submitted by the public should

be duly acknowledged.

(b) *Time limit for dealing with applications* : The Governments of Maharashtra and Punjab have specified the time limit within which the applications from the public should be disposed off. The Governments of Gujarat and Rajasthan have also specified time-limit in certain cases.

(c) *Enquiries, complaints, from M.Ps. and M.L.As.* : The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan have issued specific instructions laying down a procedure for attending the enquiries and complaints from M.Ps., M.L.As., etc.

(d) *Pamphlets for public information* : The Governments of Gujarat and Maharashtra have issued pamphlets for public information, detailing the procedure for redressal of grievances.

(e) *Instructions to touring officers* : The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Punjab have issued specific instructions to touring officers to the effect that they should look into public grievances while on tour.

(f) *Applications which should not be entertained* : The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Punjab have specified the types of applications which should not be entertained. Such applications generally fall under one or more of the following categories:

1. Those relating to matters which are pending before a Court of Law, Tribunal, etc.
2. Those regarding criminal offences in which recourse can be taken to a Court of Law.
3. Those in respect of which the applicant has omitted to approach the Heads of Departments or Lower Authorities except where there are reasonable grounds for such omission.
4. Where the matter has been considered and decided by Government in the past and no new facts are brought to light.
5. Anonymous and pseudonymous applications, excepting such applications may be entertained if there are specific allegations capable of verification.

(g) *Arrangements for dealing with complaints of corruption*: In Andhra Pradesh an Anti-corruption Bureau has been constituted with effect from January, 1961, independent of the Police Department, to check corruption in services and to improve the

moral tone of the administration. The Bureau has been placed under the control of Chief Secretary. In addition to this, State Government has set up one-member vigilance commission broadly on the lines of Central Vigilance Commission.

In Bihar, Anti-corruption Committee has been set up at the District level comprising the Superintendent of Police, members of the State Legislature, President or Secretary of the Bar Association, nominee of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, three representatives of the organised non-official bodies, with the District Magistrate as the convener. Every district has an Anti-corruption Inspector or Sub-Inspector to enquire into specific complaints of corruption.

In Madras and Maharashtra, complaints of corruption are attended by the Public Grievances Officer.

In U.P. the Crime Branch of the C.I.D.—a State level organisation—conducts enquiries into important and complicated cases of crime as well as complaints of corruption. Investigations and enquiries are entrusted to this Branch either by the State Government or the Inspector General of Police.

The Government of West Bengal have set up a Vigilance Commission headed by the Vigilance Commissioner. The Vigilance Commission has the same measure of independence and autonomy as the Public Service Commission. The Government of Rajasthan have also set up a Vigilance Commission to enquire into complaints of corruption and misconduct of public servants.

B. AT THE DISTRICT AND LOWER LEVELS

(i) *The complaints officer*

Punjab has a Public Grievances Officer at the District level who is a Senior Magistrate or an officer of an equivalent status. He is helped by two Assistants.

The Government of Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore and West Bengal have designated an officer for dealing with the public complaints and grievances at the District level. Madras has in each District a Call Officer who is an officer immediately below the Collector. He is responsible for receiving complaints and for pursuing further action on them till a final decision is reached. In Maharashtra every head of Department or Head of Office under the Zila Parishad is required to nominate one of his subordinate officers of adequate status and authority to deal with

complaints received from the public. This Officer is required to refer the complaints to the appropriate officer, watch its expeditious disposal and inform the complainant as soon as possible. He is also required to bring to the notice of the Head of Department or office any delay or failure on the part of the dealing officers. In Mysore, "Assistance to Public Cells" set up in the offices of Deputy Commissioners and Tehsil Officers are placed in charge of one of the gazetted officers. These cells receive petitions and representations from the public, arrange to hear the petitions and see that suitable and prompt replies are given to them. In West Bengal, a responsible officer in each District has been designated as the Complaints Officer for attending to the complaints and grievances received from the public.

(ii) *Other arrangements*

The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore and West Bengal have devised some other *ad hoc* arrangements. In Andhra Pradesh, a receptionist is provided in each Collectorate. In Gujarat, the Collectors are required to follow, *mutatis mutandis*, the procedure prescribed for dealing with applications at the State level. In Kerala, Collectors are required to set apart a particular time to receive petitions and meet people. In Madras, Monday is treated as the public grievances day and Collectors are required to be present at headquarters to receive petitions in person. In Maharashtra, some officer is required to be always available for the visitors, when the head of office is on tour, or outside his visiting hours. Instructions issued by the Government of Mysore lay down that where appropriate delegation of powers has been made, the heads of departments should insist upon action being taken by the authority to whom such powers have been delegated. The authorities at various levels have been instructed to initiate action on matters within their competence without waiting for reports from the lower levels other than obtaining statistical or other data. It has been impressed upon all officers that the petitions/representations received from the public should be acknowledged promptly and any communication regarding action should be issued to them expeditiously. The Deputy Commissioners are required to fix definite hours to receive petitions from the public and hear their grievances. Divisional Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners

and other heads of department during their tours receive petitions from the public. The Government of West Bengal have asked its officers to bear in mind that the members of the public who have a grievance or complaint, and who take the trouble to write and draw attention to it, should feel that someone in authority in the Government has given his attention to the matter and come to a decision.

(iii) *Public grievances committees in Madhya Pradesh and Punjab*

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has two sets of Committees at the District level—A Committee of non-officials and a Committee of officials. The Committee of non-officials consists of all M.L.As. Ministers are not members of this Committee. Government have power to nominate some non-officials as members of the committee, but its total strength should not exceed 25. The Collector functions as its convener. He convenes the meeting once a month and places all the petitions and complaints received before it for scrutiny. After scrutiny, the complaints are forwarded to the Committee of officials for suitable action.

The Committee of officials consists of all the District Officers of the various Departments except the District and Sessions Judge. The Collector functions as the Chairman of the Committee which also meets once a month and takes expeditious action on all complaints and petitions received from the Committee of non-officials.

In Punjab, the District Public Relations and Grievances Committee consists of the Departmental Heads, the M.Ps., M.L.As. of the District, President and Secretary of the District Congress Committee, the President of the District Headquarters Municipality, the District Chairman of Bharat Sewak Samaj, Chairman of the Sadachar Samiti, a representative each of the farmers and traders in the District and the Chairman of the Zila Parishad as well as the Chairman of the two Block Samitis by rotation for a period of six months. The functions of this Committee are to ensure that all grievances are properly looked into and report of the action taken is placed before the Committee. Where any non-official member is not satisfied with the result of the enquiry, the Deputy Commissioner entrusts the matter to the Public Grievances officers of the District and gets it reinvestigated in

consultations with the member complaining.

C. A RESUME

A description of the grievance machinery and grievance procedure given in the preceding pages would indicate that most of the State Governments are alive to the need for some kind of a formal machinery through which the public can have their grievances redressed easily and speedily. Each State Government has, however, devised its own *ad hoc* machinery and procedure, indicating an individualistic approach to the problem. Some State Governments have provided for a complaints officer, while two State Governments have gone so far as to provide a Department of Grievances. A few State Governments have provided for the District level coordination committees. Some of the State Governments have defined the role of Ministers in the Grievance Procedure while others have not. Similarly, a few State Governments have given specific instructions on such procedural steps as acknowledgement of applications, petitions, etc., time limit for dealing with applications, enquiries and complaints from M.Ps. and State legislators and what the officers should do while on tour.

The source of a grievance of a citizen may often lie in his low level of information or lack of knowledge about a particular rule or procedure, including the procedure for filing a complaint or grievance. That many State Governments do not sufficiently realize the importance of this aspect—broadly termed Public Relations—is clear from the fact that only the State Governments of Gujarat and Maharashtra have issued pamphlets for the information of the public.

However, the efforts are not what they should be. As indicated some States have issued only instructions with no ways of following up. Only a few have thought out a clear policy in the matter and a definite machinery. The encouraging factor however is that almost all the states seem to be quite concerned with the increasing dissatisfaction which the public is expressing in various ways.

D. GRIEVANCE MACHINERY AND GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE : A CRITIQUE AND SUGGESTIONS

As stated earlier, most of the State Governments are alive to

the need for an effective grievance machinery and grievance procedure. Nevertheless, the arrangements they have set up so far suffer, in a varying degree, from one or more shortcomings. There is need, therefore, for a second look at the existing arrangements for attending to the requests, complaints and grievances of the public and for modifying the arrangements to the extent necessary.

1. *The Grievance officer*

The first question is whether there is need for a Grievance Officer to attend to the complaints of the public. If so, should there be only one Grievance Officer of adequate status and seniority, common to all Departments/Offices in the State Secretariat, or in the District Office, or in addition a Senior Officer in each Department/Office should be designated as a Grievance Officer in that Department. We feel that there is need for both sets of Grievances Officer. The former should generally deal with the formulation of policy and its implementation, while the latter should be responsible for ensuring proper action on complaints lodged in respect of their own departments. Duties of the Central Grievance Officer and the Grievance Officer in each Department/Office should be clearly defined within this broad framework.

2. *Role of ministers*

A few State Governments have defined the role of Ministers in the grievance procedure. While an occasional check by Ministers would be helpful, we feel that the primary responsibility for disposal of the application should be that of the officer who has been delegated the power to take a final decision on it. Too many applications coming to the Ministers or too much probe and interference in the power and discretion of officers by Ministers will not perhaps be desirable.

3. *Grievances committees*

One of two State Governments have constituted Grievances Committees at the District Level. The Committees are welcome in the sense that the non-official opinion in the District is brought to bear on the approach to the applications submitted by the public. It would be desirable to constitute similar District level Committees in all the States.

The District Grievances Committee should be concerned not only with the quantitative aspects of the complaints; but also with their qualitative aspects. It is not enough that the committees should feel satisfied with the number of complaints shown as disposed off; the Committees should also go into the nature of complaints received and of the decision taken thereon.

4. *The basic approach*

The basic approach of Government and its officers should be that the members of the public are welcome to approach the administration for the provision of services or for removal of their grievances. For this purpose, the officers concerned should bring to bear an unfailing courtesy and sympathetic approach to the members of the public.

5. *Hearing of complaints in person*

Certain State Governments have specified a particular date, and others have instructed the fixation of some time for hearing by officers of public complaints. The basic thing to be kept in mind in this regard is that the objective is to facilitate the public contact with the officials. The fixation of particular days has the disadvantage that a member of the public coming from mofussil areas for a day or so may not be able to combine his visit with seeing a particular official if the day on which he comes does not happen to be a visiting day. Similarly, if various officers in the Secretariat have different timings for receiving applications, inconvenience to the public will ensue. More important than fixing of a day for receiving visitors is, to fix a definite time uniformly for all the officers at which the members of the public can come and see the officers in connection with their requests and applications.

6. *Public relations*

One of the greatest handicaps of the public is that they do not know to whom the application has to be sent or what procedure is to be followed in submitting the application. It would be helpful, as has been done by the Government of Gujarat and Maharashtra, to issue small pamphlets giving the necessary details for the guidance of the public.

7. *The decision*

As soon as a decision has been taken on the application or complaint, it should be communicated to the applicant as early as possible. Also, if a decision is in the negative or is unfavourable, the reason for the decision should also be explained to him as far as it may be possible and practicable. An impression should be sought to be created through the Government reply that the Government is not averse to receiving applications but it regrets that it has not been possible for it to agree to the request.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Overall view

The feelings of the public are important in the resolution of an issue in any society. Considering the educational level, social awareness and the economic condition of the people in India, it is not surprising that the real feelings of the people hardly reach the higher levels. Administration may thus be taking decisions or the Government deciding on policies, with only a blurred idea of the feelings of the public. There seems to be a general feeling that the public can hardly get their grievances redressed as at present. This feeling is only one aspect of the total public opinion. The view taken in this study consequently is that grievances cannot be studied *per se* — but have to be viewed in the totality of the feelings of the public. Public grievances have been viewed here from the overall point of view whether there is support from the public for administration, or whether they are alienated from it. To be able to determine this, information was collected on the knowledge of the villagers on procedures, rules and regulations, their perceptions and attitudes to the Government and their experiences in dealing with the administration.

It is not enough just to look at what the villagers said, but also to understand the viewpoint of the officials. Consequently, the officials in the areas in which the villagers were surveyed, were also interviewed and their opinions gathered. The results of the survey have been described in the previous pages.

It has already been said that the grievances must be seen in the setting of the social environment of administration. Fair settlement of a particular case of grievance is hardly sufficient to result into a favourable image. The image is a part of the overall view of public opinion, which might be one of support or of alienation. If the public opinion is one of support, the grievances may not look too large. On the other hand, when the public are alienated from administration, the grievances might

tend to be exaggerated. Generalised support or alienation will also have an effect on the approach to solve the problem of public grievances.

What is the image ?

"The existence or the absence of a Government makes no difference to us because nothing ever gets done through these Government agencies. Complete disintegration of the society has been avoided so far because a large majority of the people tend to be self-sufficient and consequently are able to get along without any services from the Government." In these words a group of villagers summed up their attitude towards administration as our research workers talked to them. This feeling was not restricted to this particular village. In most other villages which were visited, similar feelings and sentiments were expressed.

One may raise a question here as to whether anybody can be self-sufficient in the extremely complex world of today. The point that the villagers were making was that they had enough to subsist on, as a majority of them had some land to cultivate, some food to eat, a thatched roof and a few clothes to wear. Further it was pointed out that the services provided by the Government hardly ever reached them as there was discrimination and "callousness" on the part of the officials. The officials were unresponsive or unmoved unless some extraneous pressures were brought to bear on them, such as bribe or influence.

"We have never taken Taccavi loans" said the residents of another village. When asked for the reason they said:

"After the officers have already distributed all the Taccavi funds to the people whom they want to favour, they send information around, asking for applications for the loans, and when we apply, we are told that the funds have already been exhausted."

Discussing another problem, they said,

"After considerable difficulty we raised funds, and at a great cost to ourselves, we sunk some tubewells, but in spite of repeated requests the Electricity Department has not supplied electricity, and consequently, tubewells are lying idle. We are told that there is dearth of poles and transmission lines, and yet, to the next village they have been supplied, who have been able to bribe the officials.

Question: "Why don't you complain to higher officials."

Answer: "Who cares? The higher officials too are corrupt. They won't listen unless they are paid some bribe."

Question: "Why did you not complain to the District Collector? After all, he is a higher officer and will not expect a bribe."

Answer: "Yes, but his Chaprasis and clerks won't let us approach him unless we bribe them."

Another complaint of the villagers related to policy regarding the supply of fertilizers. Earlier the Government supplied fertilizers on payment in cash as well as on loan. But from this year, the facility of supply of fertilizer on loan has been withdrawn. The villagers did not know as to why there was this change of policy. When a Block Development Officer was asked about it, he said that the demand for fertilizers had gone very high, but the supplies were short. Hence they had to find some method by which they could control the distribution. Consequently, only those who paid cash were being supplied with fertilizers. Were the villagers not really aware of the reason or were the officials so unresponsive as not to explain to villagers? Was the publicity machinery of the Government so weak that it was never able to get across to the people the *raison d'être* of their policies or were the villagers suppressing this information to give vent to a general sense of dissatisfaction?

Whatever may be the situation, the preliminary impression that one gets in the village is that of alienation rather than support to the administration. As one villager puts it,

"'Gorminit' is a good word because it implies consideration (Ghaur) immediately (Minit). But let alone immediate consideration: there is hardly ever any consideration of the difficulties and the requests of the villagers."

This image seemed to be predominant in almost all the villagers.

However, when the villagers were questioned as to whether they had some services available in terms of education, health, community development programme, etc., after Independence, most people agreed that this was so. From the viewpoint of administration, it is important to note that while the villagers are by and large aware of the efforts of the Government and administration to provide them with these facilities, the awareness is overshadowed by the dissatisfaction with the way these

facilities are administered.

The villagers' view

From the data collected in this survey, the image that seems to emerge from the villagers towards administration is essentially one alienation. The data also indicated that alienation was greater among the farming castes and agricultural labourers than other castes. Same is true of the lesser educated respondents. Time and again, lack of confidence in and an attitude of doubt towards the intentions and the integrity of administration were indicated. Alienation is clearly depicted in their perceptions and attitudes. The villagers were asked to express their agreement or disagreement with certain statements, some of which were positive towards administration and others negative. It was found that by and large, the villagers' attitudes were negative towards administration. When questioned as to what the villagers would do if they had a complaint, only about one-fourth said that they would complain to the higher officials. The major reason mentioned for not doing anything was that they felt that the officials would do nothing about it or that they were not easily accessible. It is also interesting to note that more than half of the officials felt that less than half of the complaints made by the villagers are genuine. This indicates that there is an image of a certain lack of faith in each other, both on the part of the villagers and the officials.

When questioned regarding the extent of corruption, it was found that the Revenue and the Irrigation Departments were thought to be more corrupt than the others. There was a feeling that there is an element of corruption in all the Departments. However, the majority of the people felt that corruption among the officials can be eliminated or at least reduced.

As has been mentioned, the attitudes and the perception suggest an image of alienation. There was an attempt to find out whether this was in keeping with their experiences with the administration. Also, whether alienated attitudes and perceptions were based on their understanding and knowledge of procedures, rules and regulations and the availability of services. By and large, it could be said that the knowledge regarding the rules and conditions of the services was rather poor among the villagers. For example, nearly half of the people did not know the purpose

for which Taccavi loan is given. In fact, only 16 per cent were fully aware of that. With regard to experience also, it was found that in the Health services, nearly 80 per cent of the people who availed of the services, paid some amount or the other in spite of the fact that the majority of them knew that they were not supposed to pay any amount to the hospital. Many other experiences have been cited, which clearly indicated that the overall attitude of the public towards administration is one of alienation. From this, it would follow that the grievances are only an aspect of the whole problem of the public image and attitude towards the Administration. To win the support and confidence of the public, it would not be sufficient merely to create one more Department for dealing with complaints of the villagers. In fact, when the villagers were asked about the appointment of a Complaints Officer, they said it would be good, provided he is not like the others.

To some extent, alienation of the villagers could be understood and/or explained. There always seems to be certain amount of struggle going on between the public and the administration to outwit each other. The extent of alienation shown by the public in this study is more than merely an attempt to outwit the administration. It was a demonstration of lack of faith in administration.

Officials' view

The most surprising thing that the Survey seems to indicate is that the officials themselves are alienated from administration. There seems to be a lack of confidence between the Departments and in the course of informal discussions, it was found that one Department was blaming the other for corruption. In the matter of attitudes, it was found that the officials tended to be as negative as the villagers in their views regarding administration. When questions were asked regarding that reforms need to be made, more than three-fourths of them agreed that the need was for improving the procedures and that the officials should become more helpful. Seventy per cent of the officials said that there is need for reform in the present administration. This would indicate that the officials themselves are not too satisfied with the Administration. Naturally, this has a serious implication for any reforms, as the reforms have to be implemented through the

officials.

The knowledge of the officials regarding various matters seems to be inadequate. Less than half of them were aware of the Chairman of the Reforms Commission and only about a fourth knew of the date of appointment of the Reforms Commission. A little more than 40 per cent were not aware of the conditions and eligibility of the villagers for the Taccavi loan. About a third of the officials were only partially aware of the purposes for which the Taccavi loan is given and another third did not know.

Forty-five per cent of the officials felt that the procedure for getting the Taccavi loan was complicated and only 40 per cent felt that the entries made by the Patwari in the village records are always correct. About half the number of officials said that the villagers are made to buy medicines in the market even when they are available in the hospital.

As has already been indicated, the attitudes of the officials judged by their reaction to some of the statements given were negative. It might also be pointed out here that where a democratic element was concerned the officials tended to be much more negative than the public. While only 60 per cent of the villagers agreed with the statement "strong leaders are more necessary than all laws and talks". Eighty-three per cent of the officials agreed with this. About 45 per cent of the officials said that the introduction of the Panchayati Raj has helped in the improvement of administration. Only about a fifth of them (the officials) felt that the Ministers were interested in promoting national good or promoting the welfare of the villagers: the remaining felt that Ministers were interested either in strengthening their own position or that of their party. Among the officials, about half felt that half or more of the number of officials in the Revenue and the Irrigation Departments were corrupt. In fact, a larger percentage of the officials indicated lack of confidence in the integrity of the officials as compared to the villagers.

A little less than half the number of officials (45%) said that in their training programme, public relations was included. More than three-fourths of the officials felt that the villagers made extra demands over and above what the officials thought were the normal services provided by the Department. The officials thought that, on the whole, their image among the

villagers was favourable.

A little more than half of the officials felt that material exists in the departments by which information is communicated to the public. As most of the information is communicated through printed material, very few villagers can get at it. Actually, about one-third of the officials said that there is no publicity material through which the villagers are educated regarding the procedures followed in their departments. Only 15 per cent of the officials felt that the complaints of the villagers do not have a nuisance value (18% said "don't know"). About 60 per cent of the officials felt that the villagers make too many requests. About half of the officials said that applications are acknowledged and an equal number of them said that there is time specified at each level for the processing of any application. Fifty per cent felt that the feeling among the villagers regarding the delay was fair. An overwhelming majority of the officials agreed with suggestions regarding changes in procedures which would help in reducing delays. It is also of interest to note that 31 per cent said that if the villagers pay bribe, delays would be avoided. Seventy-five per cent of them felt that after the introduction of the Panchayati Raj "political pull" had increased.

All these factors indicate that the officials themselves are not fully satisfied with what the administration can do for the villagers. More than that, they indicate a lack of confidence among each other and consequently, their alienation towards administration. A surprising trend is that officials with longer years of government service, seem more alienated than those who are younger in service.

The study indicates that the public do not have confidence in administration. They admit that they are getting the services, but feel that these services are given at a price. Indications are there that the officials are also alienated from administration. Also, they do not have much faith in the political leadership and they seem to be more autocratic rather than democratic in their attitudes.

Implication of the study

Looked at from this point of view, the implications for reforms are more or less obvious. Unless the officials themselves are positive and have confidence in the integrity of the total

Administration, it would not be possible to bring about effective reforms, which would have their impact on the public. The need, then, is to analyse the reasons as to why the officials are alienated from the administration. Their alienation will necessarily be reflected in their behaviour from which the public form their image. When the officials are alienated, they cannot possibly serve the public to the best of their ability. The administrative reforms, therefore, have to deal primarily with the matter of attitudes and this would mean that the question is essentially one of personnel rather than rules and regulations. Unless those who are working within the administration have the confidence in the integrity and the efficiency of the Administration, they cannot possibly create a sense of confidence. There can be no support from the public to the Administration, unless complete confidence is created. If the alienation goes further, it is possible that the legitimacy of the regime itself will be in danger. From this point of view, plans for the reform will have to be on a long-term basis.

The following actions might be taken to infuse a certain amount of confidence in administrative system among the officials themselves.

The Training Programme of the Officials at all levels needs to be reviewed from the viewpoint of the following questions:

- (a) To what extent are the officials made to realise the total setting within which they work?
- (b) Are they given any understanding of their role in the process of development of the country, so that there is a sense of mission which is developed?
- (c) Are they given any understanding of the ways and means of dealing with the public?
- (d) Does the training have anything to say regarding the relationships between the superiors and their subordinates?

Unless some of these things are dealt with and the officials given an understanding, it would be difficult to create confidence among the officials themselves with regard to administration.

The study shows that the officials are not particularly favourable to democratic institutions. The training programme would have to indicate the implications of working in a democracy and also the problems and the frustrations involved. Further, there needs to be a much greater contact between the appointed officials and the elected leaders at all levels from the village

upwards, so that there can be some understanding and hence greater rapport with each other. As the study has indicated, a majority of the officials seem to feel that the Panchayati Raj has created more problems than it has solved. The officials in the Panchayats seem to have felt that the administration had stood in the way of their doing anything substantial. There is need for meetings where they can give and take and thus, create and develop better relations among each other.

Machinery for grievances

The suggestions made above could take a long time to be effective, but what is needed is an attempt at immediate restoration of confidence of the public in administration. The appointment of a Commissioner for Grievances is thus a matter of necessity. The public would realise that this is not going to solve all their problems but it is at least likely to create a feeling among the public that the Government is concerned and is willing to do something to alleviate their conditions. An exhaustive description of the machinery set-up in the various States for dealing with grievances has been described. In some States, a whole Department has been created in others the officials have been asked to look at the grievances while on tour.

At present, the villagers seem to feel that the Government is not at all concerned about them. Two or three things need to be done even in the matter of appointment of the Grievances Commissioner:

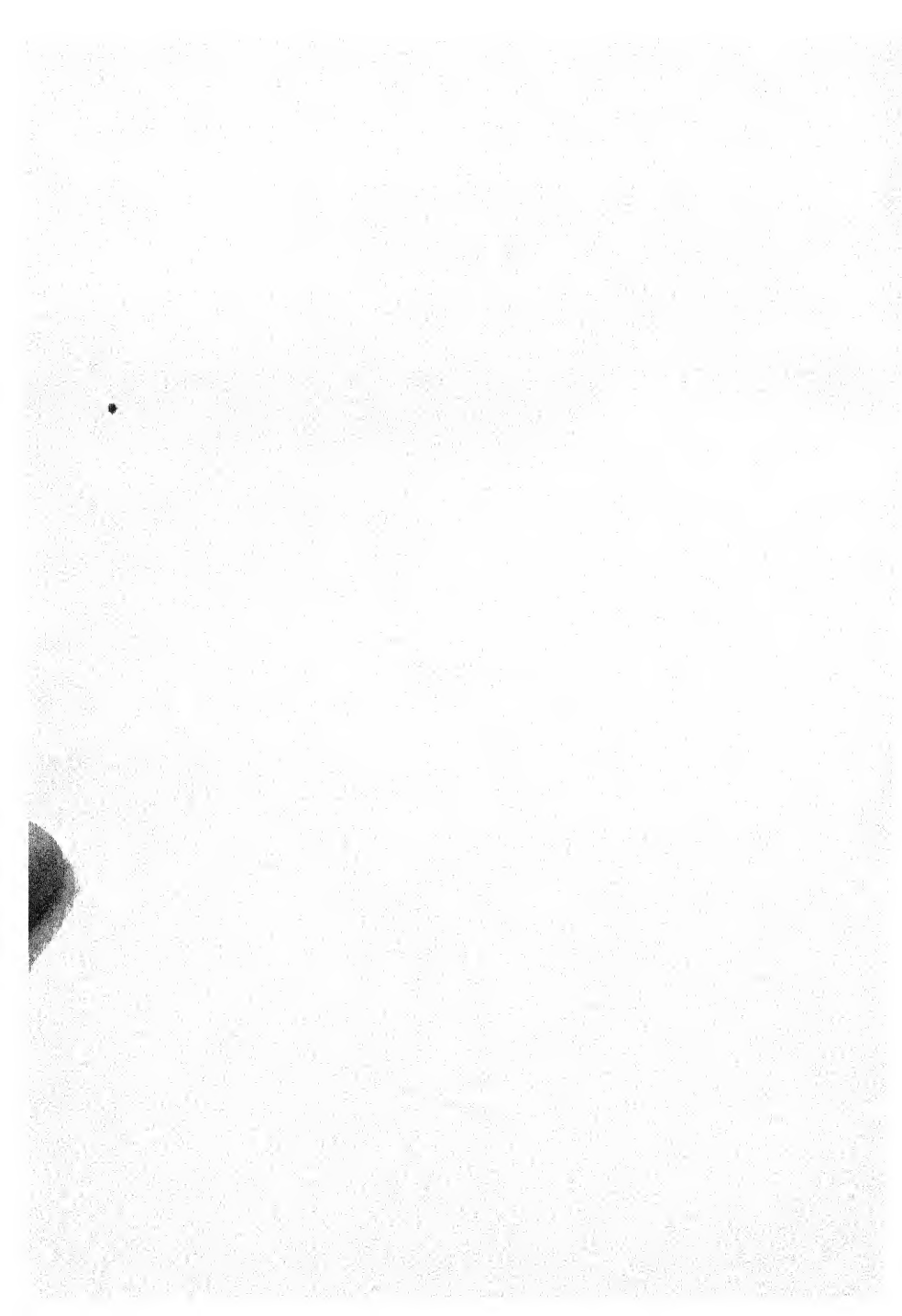
1. Wide publicity needs to be given to this and clear indication about its functions. In Punjab, where there is an elaborate system, few villagers or officials mentioned it. Unless this is done, there might be exaggerated notions among the public as to what a Commissioner for Grievances can do, which might lead to unnecessary frustration and further alienation.
2. The Grievance Commissioner must be given enough authority to be able to act, so that he can take action where things are fairly obvious and where *prima facie* cases exist. Unless this is done, the prediction of the villagers that the appointment of another officer has no impact at all, will come true.
3. Merely, the establishment of yet another Department or

the appointment of another official is not going to have any impact on the public opinion, unless they become functional and operative immediately, and are able, to some extent at least to develop an image among the public, which is more positive.

To think that merely the establishment of such a machinery will solve all the problems for all times to come, to say the least, would be misleading. What is needed is a reform in the attitudes and education regarding the functioning of administration in a democratic and developing society. Mere change in rules, regulations and the procedures cannot be the be-all and end-all of reformation. It is the men who operate them that need to be reformed. Rules could be looked at positively or negatively. The need there is for men who are capable of being positive, dynamic and to take initiative, at all levels of the administration. This is, in one sense, the radical reform that is necessary. Sustained confidence in and support of the public for administration is a necessity for development. The ultimate purpose of reform must be directed towards this end.



APPENDICES



APPENDIX I

SAMPLING PROCEDURE

In the selection of blocks, it was assumed that the sample of our Study was likely to be affected by the four following factors in the manner indicated against each. Weights were assigned to the factors mentioned above. The weights were assigned arbitrarily, but keeping in view the comparative importance of each factor in influencing the sample.

<i>Criteria</i>	<i>Assumed effect on universe</i>	<i>Weight</i>
1. Population	Bigger the population, greater the activity	3
2. Literacy Rate	Higher the literacy rate, greater the interest taken by the villagers	2
3. Distance from metalled road or railway station	More the distance, lesser the contact between the villagers and officials	2
4. Distance from District head-quarters	More the distance, lesser the contact with District officials	1

The sampling technique was as follows:

All the Blocks in the District were separately arranged in a rank order for each of the four factors. The rank order was in an ascending order for population and literacy rate and in a descending order for the distance from road or railway station and distance from the District headquarters. This rank number indicated the position of a particular Block among all the Blocks in the District.

In order to reflect the varying degree of influence of each factor (indicated by their weights), the rank numbers accorded to each factor were multiplied by their respective weights. Such second scores (*i.e.*, rank order multiplied by the weights) for the

four criteria were added up and the sum gave the final score for each Block. The Blocks were ranked again on the basis of the final scores. Thus the final score included the positions of each Block, in the District (in the form of rank numbers), as well as the comparative importance of the criteria (in the form of the weights). After arranging the Block in rank order on the basis of the final scores, the Blocks, were divided into two groups and one Block from each group was selected in consultation with the District officials.

Selection of villages

The following factors were kept in view for the selection of villages:

- (i) The villages selected from a Block should have a population of about 1,500.
- (ii) The village selected in one Block should be near to Tehsil and in the other Block it should be situated at a distance.
- (iii) The villages should be average from the point of view of literacy rate and revenue demands.

The respondents

It was envisaged that the sample of interviewees should include the following:

- (i) 50 households per village;
- (ii) Chairman/Vice-Chairman of Panchayat bodies at the village, Block and District levels and leaders in opposition in these bodies; and
- (iii) Government functionaries concerned with the subject of enquiry at the village, Block and District levels.

Following is the break-up of the sample of interviewees in each district:

(i) Villagers (50 per village)	100
(ii) Elected Representatives	11
(iii) Village officials (5 per village)	10
(iv) Block officials (6 per Block)	12
(v) Tehsil officials (3 per Tehsil)	6
(vi) District level	4

Total:	<u>143</u>
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The heads of the household in each village were selected for interview on the basis of "systematic sampling" scheme. This technique was adopted because it provides a fair representation of all sections of population in the village.

APPENDIX II

SCHEDULE FOR VILLAGERS*

I. REVENUE

- 1.1.A. Did you ever had the occasion to come in contact with the following officials during past five years?
1. Patwari
 2. Girdawar/Kanungo
 3. Naib Tehsildar
 4. Tehsildar
 5. SDO/SDM
 6. Collector/Deputy Commissioner
 7. Others (Please specify)
- 1.1.B. What was the purpose?
- 1.1.C.1. Has your contact with the revenue officials increased or decreased after the Block started?
- 1.1.C.2. Has your contact with the revenue officials increased or decreased after introduction of Panchayati Raj?
- 1.2.A. Could you please let us know the stages, in their proper sequence, through which your application for Taccavi loan has to pass?
- 1.2.B. From where did you get this information?
- 1.2.C. What are the purposes for which Taccavi loan is given?
- 1.2.D.1. Are all villagers eligible for Taccavi loans?
- 1.2.D.2. If no, who are the persons not eligible?
- 1.3. Did you ever apply for Taccavi loan? (In case of more than one loan, ask about the loan last applied).

IF YES

- 1.3.A. What was the amount of loan you asked? (including equivalent of loan in kind) (If more than one loan, ask about the most recent loan).

*Most of the questions in the Original Schedule had pre-coded answers, which have been omitted here for the sake of brevity. In consequence some of the questions have been slightly edited.

- 1.3.B. Was your request for Taccavi loan granted?
- 1.3.C. If yes, or partially, how?

For those who were granted Taccavi loans

- 1.4.A. What was the total time taken between submission of application and grant of loan?
- 1.4.B.1. Do you think, the time taken was too long?
- 1.4.B.2. How much, do you think, should be the normal time between submission of application and grant of loan?
- 1.4.B.3. If it took too long, where do you think delay occurs? (If it took more than the time considered normal of 1.4.B.2.)
- 1.4.C.1. Were you given any interim reply?
- 1.4.C.2. Were you given any interim explanation?
- 1.4.C.3. If yes, what was the explanation?
- 1.4.C.4. Did you feel the explanation was satisfactory or non-satisfactory.

If your request was granted

- 1.5.A. What do you think could be the main reasons?
- 1.5.B. (If you did the follow-up), how?
- 1.5.C. (If officials were helpful), which officials?

If some money was paid to somebody

- 1.5.D.1. How much?
- 1.5.D.2. Did you give it yourself or through someone else?
- 1.5.D.3. If someone else, who?
- 1.5.D.4. Do you know if this person actually delivered the thing?
- 1.5.E. (If helped by influential persons), which person helped you? (Probe for status)

*For those not granted Taccavi loan/granted partially/
request pending*

- 1.6.A. What do you think are the reasons for rejection/partial acceptance/delay?
- 1.6.B. (If officials were unhelpful) which officials?
- 1.6.C.1. (If no influential persons helped) which person, do you think, would have helped you? (probe for status)

- 1.6.C.2. (If any person is named) Do you know if he helped someone else?
- 1.6.C.3. Why did he help him, and not you?
- 1.6.D. (If no money given to anyone) If you had paid some money to any of the following, do you think you would have got the thing done?
1. Patwari
 2. Tehsil Officials
 3. Cooperative supervisor
 4. V.L.W.
 5. B.D.O. and Block Officials
 6. Others (Pl. specify).....
- 1.7.A. Were you told the reasons for rejection/partial acceptance of your request?
- 1.7.B. Were you advised about the further action you could possibly take?

FOR ALL

- 1.8.A. Is the procedure for grant of Taccavi loans complicated, satisfactory or simple?
- 1.8.B. Do you think the procedure can be simplified?
- 1.8.C. If yes, how?
- 1.9. Given the choice where would you prefer to get loan from?
1. Government
 2. Land Development Bank
 3. Cooperative Bank
 4. No preference
- 1.10.A. Which is the agency for recovery of Taccavi loan?
- 1.10.B. Are villagers harassed at the time of recovery of Taccavi loan?
- 1.10.C. If yes, how?
- Do the following Revenue Officials actually visit all the farmers' fields to ensure accuracy of records?
1. Patwari
 2. Girdawar/Kanungo
 3. Naib Tehsildar
 4. Tehsildar
- 1.11.A. Do these visits help in ensuring accuracy of village records?

- 1.11.B. If not, why?
- 1.12.A. Do you think the Patwari makes correct entries in his village records?
- 1.12.B. Does the Patwari make entries in the village record?
 - 1. With much difficulty to villagers
 - 2. With some difficulty to villagers
 - 3. Without any difficulty to villagers
- 1.12.C. If with much or some difficulty, is it because
 - 1. The procedure is complicated
 - 2. He expects something from you before obliging
 - 3. He won't do things, unless someone uses his influence
 - 4. (Any other reason) (Pl. specify)
- 1.13.A. How many revenue officials in this Tehsil, do you think, are corrupt?
- 1.13.B. Why do you think they are corrupt?
- 1.13.C.1. Do you think corruption among Revenue Officials can be eliminated?
- 1.13.C.2. If eliminated or reduced, how?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not.

- 1.14.A. Revenue Officials will always be corrupt?
- 1.14.B. The salary of Revenue Officials is low, so they have to accept bribes.
- 1.14.C. Village people are more responsible for corruption than Revenue Officials.

II. SUPPLY OF SEEDS

- 2.15. Would you please tell us the agency/agencies responsible for supply of improved seeds in your village?
- 2.16.A. Where from do you generally get your requirements of seeds?
- 2.16.B. If not, or whenever not, from Government or Co-operative agency, why?
- 2.17.A. If from Government or Cooperative agency, on whose advice did you first apply for supply of improved seeds? (Probe for designation or status).

- 2.17.B. Do you generally get the seeds from Government/ Cooperative well in time for sowing?
- 2.17.C. How do you feel about the quality of seeds supplied to you by the Government or the Cooperative?
- 2.18.A. Has there been any occasion, when you wanted seeds and the agency did not supply it or supplied it in part?
- 2.18.B. What was the reason why seed was not supplied to you?
- 2.19.A. Do you feel that you were discriminated against?

IF YES

- 2.19.B.1. Which officials do you think would have helped you if you had paid him some money?
- 2.19.B.2. Which of the influential persons do you think could have helped you? (Probe for status)
- 2.19.B.3. (If any person is named). Do you know if he helped someone else?
- 2.19.B.4. Why did he help him and not you?
- 2.20.A. Given the choice, would you prefer to get the seed from government, cooperative or other sources? (Please specify other sources.)
- 2.20.B. (If other sources) why? (Reasons)
- 2.21.A. How many officials dealing with the supply of seeds are in your opinion, corrupt?
- 2.21.B. Why do you think, they are corrupt?
- 2.21.C.1. Do you think, corruption among officials dealing with seeds can be eliminated?
- 2.21.C.2. If eliminated, or reduced, how?
- 2.21.C.3. If nothing can be done, why?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not.

- 2.22.A. There will always be corruption among officials before they supply seeds to villagers.
- 2.22.B. The salary of officials dealing with supply of seeds is low, so they have to accept bribe.
- 2.22.C. Village people are more responsible for corruption than officials.

III. SUPPLY OF FERTILIZERS

- 3.23. Would you please tell us the agency/agencies responsible for supply of chemical fertilizers in your village.
- 3.24.A. Do you use fertilizers in your fields?
- 3.24.B. If not, why? (Reasons)

IF YES

- 3.25.A. How long have you been using it?
- 3.25.B. On whose advice did you first apply for fertilizers? (Probe for status)
- 3.25.C. Do you generally get the fertilizers at the right time?
- 3.26.A. Has there been any occasion when you wanted the fertilizers and the agency did not supply it or supplied it in part?
- 3.26.B. What was the reason why the fertilizer was not supplied to you?
- 3.27.A. Do you feel that you were discriminated against.
- 3.27.B. If yes, why were you discriminated against?
- 3.27.C.1. If yes, which of the following do you think could have helped you, if you had paid him money?
- 3.27.C.2. Which of the influential persons do you think could have helped you?
- 3.27.C.3. (If any person is named), do you know if he helped someone else?
- 3.27.C.4. Why did he help him and not you?
- 3.28.A. What difficulties do you have in getting fertilizers?
- 3.28.B. (If he mentions some), how can the difficulties be removed?
- 3.29.A. How many officials dealing with supply of fertilizers are corrupt?
- 3.29.B. Why do you think they are corrupt?
- 3.29.C.1. Do you think corruption among officials dealing with fertilizers can be eliminated?
- 3.29.C.2. If eliminated or reduced, how?
- 3.29.C.3. If nothing can be done, why?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not.

- 3.30.A. There will always be corruption among officials before

they supply fertilizers to villagers.

- 3.30.B. The salary of officials dealing with supply of fertilizers is low, so they have to accept bribe.
- 3.30.C. Village people are more responsible for corruption than officials.

IV. IRRIGATION

- 4.31.A. Is your land (or part of it) irrigated?
- 4.31.B. If yes, what is the source of irrigation?
- 4.32. Did you ever apply for provision of irrigation facilities (other than Taccavi loan)?

IF YES

- 4.33.A. What precisely was the nature of facilities asked by you?
- 4.33.B. To whom did you apply?
- 4.33.C. What was the result?
- 4.34.A. What difficulties do you have in supply of water in your fields?
- 4.34.B. (If he mentions some), how can these difficulties be removed?
- 4.35.A. How many irrigation officials, do you think, are corrupt?
- 4.35.B. Did you yourself pay any money to irrigation officials? If yes, to whom (probe for designation) and how much?
- 4.35.C. Why do you think irrigation officials are corrupt?
- 4.35.D. Do you think corruption among irrigation officials can be eliminated?
- 4.35.E.1. If eliminated or reduced, how?
- 4.35.E.2. If nothing can be done, why?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not.

- 4.36.A. There will always be corruption before irrigation officials grant the request of villagers.
- 4.36.B. The salary of irrigation officials is low, so they have to accept bribe.
- 4.36.C. Village people are more responsible for corruption than irrigation officials.

V. HEALTH

- 5.37. Would you please tell us whether there is any of the following in or around your village?
1. Government Hospital/Primary Health Centre
 2. Maternity & Child Welfare Centre
 3. Family Planning Centre
- 5.38. How far away is it from your house?
- 5.39. During the past year, have you or a member of your family visited all or any of them?
- 5.40.A. What, do you think, is the behaviour of officials in these centres towards the patients?
- 5.40.B. If bad, what are the reasons for your thinking so?
- 5.40.C. If they favour a particular class, how? (*i.e.*, any instance to support the statement)
- 5.40.D.1. If corrupt, how? (*i.e.*, any instance)
- 5.40.D.2. Did you (or a member of your family) pay some money to any of the hospital staff?
- 5.40.D.3. If yes, how much?
- 5.40.D.4. Did you give it yourself or through someone else?
- 5.40.D.5. If some one else, who?
- 5.40.D.6. Do you know if this person actually delivered the thing?
- 5.40.E. If they lack courtesy, or are discourteous, how? (any instance)
- 5.40.F. Do you know whether the villagers have to pay for medicine, consulting the doctor or Family Planning material?
- 5.40.G. Do you feel that villagers are asked to buy medicines from the market even when the hospital has them in stock?
- 5.41.A. Did you, or a member of your family, ever receive an injection at the hospital?
- 5.41.B. If yes, did you pay anything for cost of injected medicine or injection fee?
- 5.42. It is said that the hospital staff, instead of giving the hospital medicine to needy patients, sell them in market. Do you agree or not?
- 5.43.A. Do the health staff approach you, or members of your family, for giving vaccination, etc?
- 5.43.B. Do you, or members of your family, take vaccintaion

- 5.43.C. If yes, do you pay them any money?
- 5.43.D. If no, do you pay them any money to avoid vaccination.
- 5.44.A. How many health officials do you think are corrupt?
- 5.44.B. Why do you think they are corrupt?
- 5.44.C.1. Do you think corruption among health officials can be eliminated?
- 5.44.C.2. If eliminated or reduced, how?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not.

- 5.45.A. There will always be corruption among health officials.
- 5.45.B. The salary of health officials is low, so they have to accept bribe.
- 5.45.C. Village people are more responsible for corruption than health officials.
- 5.46.A. Given the choice, would you prefer to go for treatment to Government dispensary; or private doctor, Vaid, Hakim, etc.

VI. GENERAL

- 6.47.A. Did you ever complain against any official?
- 6.47.B. If yes, about what?
- 6.47.C. Was your complaint written or verbal?
- 6.47.D. To whom did you complain? (Probe for status)
- 6.47.E. About which department?
- 6.47.F. When?
- 6.47.G. What was the result?
- 6.48.A. If you had grievance against any official, what would you do?
- 6.48.B. If do nothing, why? (If possible, take down the statements verbatim.)
- 6.48.C. If complain, would you complain in writing or verbally?
- 6.48.D. Do you think officers will take action on your complaint?
- 6.48.E. (Whether Yes or No), why do you think so?
- 6.48.F. Do you think you can approach the Ministers?
- 6.49.A. Did you ever had the occasion to pay Government dues?

IF YES

- 6.49.B. When was the last time you made any payment to Government?
- 6.49.C. To whom did you make the payment?
- 6.49.D. For what did you make the payment? (e.g., Tax, recovery of loan, land revenue, etc.)
- 6.49.E. Did you ask for the receipt?
- 6.49.F. Was the receipt issued to you?
- 6.49.G. If not, what was the reason?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not? (If agree conditionally, please note comments in the margin.)

- 6.50.A. Administration cares for the welfare of the people.
- 6.50.B. Administration after Independence is more efficient than it was before the Independence.
- 6.50.C. Administration benefits only the rich and the influential.
- 6.50.D. Only people with approach to political party leaders can get things done.
- 6.50.E. Officers are more approachable now than before Independence.
- 6.50.F. Panchayati Raj has improved the administration at the Block level.
- 6.50.G. Strong leaders are more necessary than all the laws and talks.
- 6.51. What do you think, Ministers are primarily interested in?
- 6.52. Do you think the present administration is capable of being reformed?
- 6.53. Would more powers in the hands of officials like Patwari, Girdawar, Tehsildar, V.L.W., B.D.O., help villagers in getting things done more quickly and easily? (Please note down any comments they may make.)
- 6.54. Suppose an officer is appointed only to register and follow up the complaints of villagers. Do you think your complaint will be attended to more quickly and effectively?

VII. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- 7.55. Age
- 7.56. Profession
- 7.57. Main source of income
- 7.58. Education
- 7.59. Do you hold or did you previously hold any office in Panchayat, or any other organisation?
- 7.60. Caste
- 7.61. Number of persons in the household
- 7.62. (Not to be asked; only to be noted)
 - 1. The interviewee is the actual head of the household who answered the questions himself.
 - 2. The interviewee is the titular head of the household who took the help of functional member of the family.
 - 3. As the head of the household was only titular, not able to answer questions, a functional member of the household acted as the interviewee.

APPENDIX III
SCHEDULE FOR OFFICIALS*

PART 'A' (FOR ALL)

I. INTRODUCTORY

- 1.1. What are the major items of your job?
- 1.2.A. How many days in a month do you spend on each of the following:
 - 1. Desk work
 - 2. Field work and tours
 - 3. Meetings and conferences
 - 4. Others (specify)
- 1.2.B. Which of these items is most important? Why?
- 1.3.A. Do you have to work beyond the normal office hours?
- 1.3.B. (If yes), why?
- 1.4.A. Do adequate arrangements exist to attend to the villagers in your absence?
- 1.4.B. (If yes), what are they?
- 1.4.C. (If no), what suggestion do you have for attending to the villagers during your absence?

II. COMMUNICATION

- 2.5. Did you have any special training for your present job?
- 2.6.A. Was public relations included in the syllabus of this training?
- 2.6.B. (If yes), what was mainly emphasised regarding public relations in this training programme?
- 2.7.A. Do you think this training has been of help to you

*As in the case of schedule for villagers, most of questions in the original schedule had pre-coded answers, which have been omitted here for sake of the brevity. In consequence some of the questions have been slightly edited.

- in establishing better relations with the villagers?
- 2.7.B. (If yes), how?
- 2.7.C. (If not), what more needs to be included in the training programme?
- 2.8.A. Has your Department issued any instructions with regard to dealing with the villagers?
- 2.8.B. (If yes), what are the main things emphasised in these instructions?
- 2.8.C. What are the various ways through which these instructions are communicated to you?
- 2.9.A. Are there any printed manuals which inform the officials and the public regarding procedures of your department?
- 2.9.B. (If yes), what are the languages in which these manuals are available?
- 2.10.A. To what extent are the villagers aware of the procedure for availing the services provided by your department?
- 2.10.B. (If to a large extent), how are they made aware of the procedure?
- 2.10.C. (If only to some extent or not at all), why?
- 2.10.D. How can knowledge of the procedures among villagers be increased?
- 2.11.A. Are there any publicity material to educate the villagers regarding procedures?
- 2.11.B. (If yes), what are they?
- 2.12.A. Suppose a villager does not know the procedures followed by your department. Will he be able to get all the information by going to any one place or any one person?
- 2.12.B. (If not), why?
- 2.13. Has the establishment of Panchayati Raj facilitated greater publicity regarding procedures for availing the services provided by your department?
- 2.14.A. On the whole, do you consider the procedures complicated, satisfactory, simple for villagers to follow?
- 2.14.B. (If complicated), how can they be made simple?
- 2.15.A. There may be occasions when your department may not be able to provide services because of difficulties like paucity of funds, materials, etc. How does your department inform villagers of such difficulties?

2.15.B. Any instance?

III. PUBLIC RELATIONS

- 3.16. What do you think is the overall idea of the villagers regarding the functioning of your department?
- 3.17. Do you think that villagers can easily approach the officials of your department?
- 3.18. What are the purposes for which the villagers come to meet the officials of your department?
- 3.19.A. Do you think villagers make extra demands on you over and above what you think are the normal services provided by your department?
- 3.19.B. (If yes), what are these demands?
- 3.20.A. Do you think it is necessary for you to explain to the villagers the reasons for your decisions?
- 3.20.B. Whether 'Yes' or 'No', Why?
- 3.21.A. Do you find it possible always to explain your decisions to the villagers?
- 3.21.B. (If not), what are the difficulties?
- 3.22. Some people say that serving villagers is most important. Others say following the orders of superiors is most important. How do you feel about this? (Note verbatim response)
- 3.23.A. Have you ever heard villagers criticise you about the performance of your duties?
- 3.23.B. (If yes), what sort of things do they criticise about you?
- 3.23.C. Do you think this criticism is generally fair or unfair?
- 3.24.A. How important do you think is it for your department to get cooperation from villagers?
- 3.24.B. To what extent, in your opinion, does your department get such cooperation?
- 3.25.A. Has public cooperation increased or decreased after the establishment of Panchayati Raj?
- 3.25.B. (In each case), what is the reason?
- 3.26.A. Would you wish from villagers greater cooperation than your department is getting at present?
- 3.26.B. If yes, in what respects?
- 3.27. How many villagers, do you feel, would say that officials like you are efficient?
- 3.28. How many villagers, do you think, would say that

officials like you are courteous in their dealings with villagers?

3.29. How many villagers do you think would say that officials in your department are corrupt?

3.30. In general, what do you think of your relations with villagers?

IV. GRIEVANCES

4.31. If a villager has a complaint to make, what can he do about it?

4.32.A. Have you had instances where people have complained to you?

4.32.B. (If yes), what can you do about it?

4.32.C. (If can do nothing), why?

4.33. How many of these complaints, do you think, are genuine?

4.34. How many of the applications from villagers, do you think, have only nuisance value?

4.35.A. Do villagers make any requests to your department?

4.35.B. (If yes), do you think they are too many, not many or a few?

4.36. How many of these requests/applications usually concern your department?

4.37. Do you send a letter acknowledging requests/applications of villagers?

4.38.A. Are these requests/applications entered in a register?

4.38.B. (If yes), how much does the entry of applications in the register help in quick disposal of cases?

4.39.A. Is a periodical statement of pending cases (arrear statement) prepared in your department?

4.39.B. (If yes), what is its periodicity?

4.40.A. If such a statement is prepared, does it help in the quick disposal of cases?

4.40.B. (If no), why?

4.41. If such a statement is not prepared, would the preparation of such a statement help in the quick disposal?

4.42. Do you have time limit in your office for the disposal of applications at each stage?

4.43.A. There seems to be a general feeling that the time taken in reaching a decision on the villager's requests

is too long. Do you feel that this is a fair/unfair feeling?

4.43.B. (If unfair), why do you think such a feeling has come about?

4.43.C. (If fair), where do you think, delay occurs?

Do you think action on the request/applications of villagers would be expedited, If—(Note the response verbatim, if possible)

4.44.A. They follow it up personally?

4.44.B. If procedures are simplified?

4.44.C. Officials become more helpful?

4.44.D. Villagers pay bribe?

4.44.F. Villagers submit applications complete in all details?

Do you agree that delay in reaching decision on the application of villagers would be reduced, if the following things are done.

4.45.A. If the work-load on staff is reduced.

4.45.B. If procedures are made known to the public.

4.45.C. If time is specified for each stage.

4.45.D. If number of levels in the procedure is reduced.

4.45.E. If officials avoid 'tossing' papers.

4.45.F. If inspection/supervision is made more effective.

4.46.A. If villagers have a grievance against an official, what would they do?

4.46.B. If do nothing, why?

4.47.A. To what extent do the villagers use "political pull" to get their requests granted?

4.47.B. (If much or to some extent), who are the people from whom they bring about this pressure? (Probe for status)

4.48. Do you think this political pressure has increased or decreased after the establishment of Panchayati Raj?

4.49.A. A feeling exists among villagers that if he has a complaint against an official and makes one to higher authorities, ultimately the papers come back to the official concerned, so that the person against whom the complaint is made sits in judgment over the complaint. Do you think this feeling is true or false?

- 4.49.B. (If true), what can be done to improve the situation?
- 4.50.A. Do you think that the appointment of an officer whose sole responsibility is to register and to follow up complaints of the villagers would help in a quick and effective disposal of the complaint?
- 4.50.B. (If yes), what do you think, should be the status of this officer?
- 4.50.C. (If not), do you have any other suggestion to make? What?
- 4.51. Would more decision-making powers in the hands of officials at your level help quicker disposal of requests/applications of the villagers?
- 4.52.A. Do you think there is need for reforms in the present administration?
- 4.52.B. (If yes), what reforms?
- 4.53. Do you think the present administration can be reformed?
- 4.54.A. Who is the Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission?
- 4.54.B. When was the Administrative Reforms Commission appointed?

V. GENERAL

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not? (If agree conditionally, note comments verbatim).

- 5.55.A. Administration cares for the welfare of the people.
- 5.55.B. Administration after Independence is more efficient than it was before Independence.
- 5.55.C. Administration benefits only the rich and the influential.
- 5.55.D. Only people with approach to political party leaders can get things done.
- 5.55.E. Panchayati Raj has improved the administration at the Block level.
- 5.55.F. Panchayati Raj has improved the administration at the District level.
- 5.55.G. Strong leaders are more necessary than all laws and talks.

- 5.55.H. There is no incentive to government servants for good work.
- 5.55.I. Government servants harp on their service rights more than on their service obligations.
- 5.56. How many villagers, do you think, can approach the Ministers?
- 5.57. What do you think, the Ministers are primarily interested in?

PART 'B'—FOR DEPARTMENTAL OFFICIALS

Officer

Subjects for Interview

District Level

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. District Development and Panchayat Officer. | (Revenue), Seeds, Fertilisers) |
| 2. District Agricultural Officer | —do— |
| 3. Assistant Registrar (Coop. Societies) | —do— |
| 4. District Complaints Officer | (All sections) |

Sub-Division and Tehsil Levels

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| 5. Tehsildar | (Revenue) |
| 6. Ziladar (Irrigation) | (Irrigation) |
| 7. Field Kanungo | (Revenue) |

Block Level

- | | |
|---|---|
| 8. B.D.O. | (All sections) |
| 9. E.O./A.D.O. (Agric.) | (Revenue, Seeds, Fertilizers, Irrigation) |
| 10. E.O./A.D.O. (Coop.) | (Revenue, Seeds, Fertilizers) |
| 11. Medical Officer I/C Primary Health Centre | (Health) |
| 2. Compounders of P.H.C. (Two) | (Health) |

Village Level (in selected villages in each Block)

- | | |
|-------------|-----------|
| 13. Patwari | (Revenue) |
|-------------|-----------|

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 14. V.L.W. | (All sections) |
| 15. Cooperative Supervisor | (Revenue, Seeds,
Fertilizers) |
| 16. Irrigation Petrol | (Irrigation) |
| 17. Panchayat Secretary | (All sections) |

VI. REVENUE OFFICIALS

- 6.58. What are the occasions/purposes for which villagers normally come in contact with revenue officials?
- 6.59. Has villagers' contact with the revenue officials increased or decreased after the Block started?
- 6.60. Has villagers' contact with the revenue officials increased or decreased after the introduction of Panchayati Raj?
- 6.61. What are the purposes for which Taccavi loan is given?
- 6.62.A. Are all villagers eligible for Taccavi loans?
- 6.62.B. (If no), who are the persons not eligible?
- 6.63.A. How much, do you think, should be the normal time between submission of application and grant of Taccavi loan?
- 6.63.B. Do you think the Taccavi loan is granted to villagers with a reasonable period of time?
- 6.63.C. (If no), where do you think the delay occurs?
- 6.64.A. Do you think the villagers have to pay some money to some officials for getting Taccavi loan?
- 6.64.B. (If yes), at what level?
- 6.65.A. Do the villagers take the help of influential non-officials in course of getting Taccavi loan?
- 6.65.B. (If yes), who are these influential persons? (Probe for status)
- 6.66.A. Is the procedure for grant of Taccavi loans complicated, satisfactory or simple?
- 6.66.B. If complicated, do you think the procedure can be simplified?
- 6.66.C. (If yes), how?
- 6.67.A. Which is the agency for recovery of Taccavi loan?
- 6.67.B. Are villagers harassed at the time of recovery of Taccavi loan?
- 6.67.C. (If yes), how?

- 6.68.A. Do you think Patwaris make correct entries in their village records?
- 6.68.B. Do the Patwaris make entries in the village record with much difficulty, or with some difficulty, or without any difficulty to villagers?
- 6.68.C. If with much or some difficulty, is it because the procedure is complicated or he expects something from villagers before obliging or he won't do things, unless someone uses his influence?
- 6.69.A. How many revenue officials in this Tehsil do you think are corrupt?
- 6.69.B. Why do you think they are corrupt?
- 6.69.C. Do you think corruption among revenue officials can be eliminated?
- 6.69.D. (If eliminated or reduced), how?
- 6.69.E. (If nothing can be done), why?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not?

- 6.70.A. Revenue officials will always be corrupt.
- 6.70.B. The salary of revenue officials is low, so they have to accept bribes.
- 6.70.C. Village people are more responsible for corruption than revenue officials.

VII. SUPPLY OF SEEDS

- 7.71.A. Wherefrom do the villagers generally got their requirements of seeds?
- 7.71.B. (If not, or whenever not, from Government or Cooperative agency), why?
- 7.72.A. Does the Government/Cooperative supply seeds to farmers well in time for sowing?
- 7.72.B. (If sometimes, rarely or never), why?
- 7.73. How do you feel about the quality of seeds supplied to villagers by the Government or the Cooperative?
- 7.74.A. How many officials dealing with the supply of seeds are in your opinion corrupt?
- 7.74.B. Why do you think they are corrupt?
- 7.74.C. Do you think corruption among officials dealing with

seeds can be eliminated?

7.74.D. (If eliminated or reduced), how?

7.74.E. (If nothing can be done), why?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not?

7.75.A. There will always be corruption among officials before they supply seeds to villagers.

7.75.B. The salary of officials dealing with supply of seeds is low, so they have to accept bribe.

7.75.C. Village people are more responsible for corruption than officials.

VIII. SUPPLY OF FERTILIZERS

8.76. Wherefrom do the villagers generally get their supply of fertilizers?

8.77. Do the farmers generally get the fertilizers at the right time?

8.78.A. What difficulties do farmers have in getting fertilizers?

8.78.B. (If he mentions some), what is the administration doing to remove these difficulties?

8.78.C. (If administration is doing nothing), why?

8.79.A. How many officials dealing with supply of fertilizers are corrupt?

8.79.B. Why do you think they are corrupt?

8.79.C. Do you think, corruption among officials dealing with fertilizers can be eliminated?

8.79.D. (If eliminated or reduced), how?

8.79.E. (If nothing can be done), why?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not?

8.80.A. There will always be corruption among officials before they supply fertilizers to villagers.

8.80.B. The salary of officials dealing with supply of fertilizers is low, so they have to accept bribe.

8.80.C. Village people are more responsible for corruption than officials.

IX. IRRIGATION

- 9.81.A. Is there any source, other than Taccavi, from which villagers can ask for irrigation facilities?
- 9.81.B. (If yes), what precisely is the nature of these facilities?
- 9.81.C. Whom do they have to apply to?
- 9.82.A. What difficulties do villagers have in supply of water in their fields?
- 9.82.B. (If difficulties are mentioned), how can these difficulties be removed?
- 9.83.A. How many irrigation officials, do you think, are corrupt?
- 9.83.B. Why do you think irrigation officials are corrupt?
- 9.83.C. Do you think corruption among irrigation officials can be eliminated?
- 9.83.D. (If eliminated or reduced), how?
- 9.83.E. (If nothing can be done), why?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not?

- 9.84.A. There will always be corruption before irrigation officials grant the request of villagers.
- 9.84.B. The salary of irrigation officials is low, so they have to accept bribe.
- 9.84.C. Village people are more responsible for corruption than irrigation officials.

X. HEALTH

- 10.85.A. What do you think, is the behaviour of officials at Health Centres towards the patients?
- 10.85.B. (If bad), what are the reasons for your thinking so?
- 10.86.A. Have the villagers to pay some money to the hospital staff?
- 10.86.B. (If yes), at what levels?
- 10.87. Are villagers asked to buy from the market medicines even when the hospital has them in stock?
- 10.88. It is said that the hospital staff, instead of giving the hospital medicine to needy patients, sell them in market. Do you agree or not?
- 10.89.A. How many health officials do you think are corrupt?
- 10.89.B. Why do you think they are corrupt?

- 10.89.C. Do you think corruption among health officials can be eliminated?
- 10.89.D. (If eliminated or reduced), how?
- 10.89.E. (If nothing can be done), why?

Now we place before you some statements. Would you please tell us whether you agree with them or not?

- 10.90.A. There will always be corruption among health officials.
- 10.90.B. The salary of health officials is low, so they have to accept bribe.
- 10.90.C. Village people are more responsible for corruption than health officials.

XI. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- 11.91. Designation
- 11.92. Total length of service
- 11.93. How long have you been holding the present post?
- 11.94. Education
- 11.95. Age

APPENDIX IV

DESCRIPTION OF A MEETING OF THE DISTRICT PUBLIC RELATIONS AND GRIEVANCES COMMITTEE

The Meeting was attended by the Block Development and Panchayat Officers, the Sub-Divisional Officers, Tehsildars of the District besides the Land Consolidation Officer, the District Food and Civil Supplies Controller, the Divisional Forest Officer and the District Education Officer. The Meeting was presided over by the Deputy Commissioner.

2. The Agenda papers for the Meeting comprised of the following:

- (i) Statement showing the number of complaints disposed of and pending during the month of August, 1966, with the various officers in the District.
- (ii) Statement showing the details of pending complaints with each officer. The details covered such items as date of receipt, from whom received, the nature and description of the complaint, the date of acknowledgement and the present position.
- (iii) Statement showing the receipt and disposal of complaints as it stood on 21.8.66 with the Police Department.
- (iv) List of officers who had sent a nil report.

3. The Deputy Commissioner opened the Meeting with a brief statement emphasizing the importance of disposing of the complaints within one month of their receipt. Thereafter, he called upon each officer present, turn by turn, and asked him the position of the complaints pending with him. Most of the officers had come quite prepared with up-to-date position in respect of each complaint concerning their Department. This itself appeared to us to be a very great gain inasmuch as it was clear that the officers had given a careful review to each complaint before coming for the Meeting. In other words, the procedure ensured that each complaint was properly accounted for and reviewed from

time to time and that there was very little possibility, if there was any possibility at all, of a complaint being lost, misplaced or ignored. Nevertheless, one of the officers did plead that the original complaint was not available and, therefore, efforts were being made to get a duplicate copy of the complaint from the complainant. The Deputy Commissioner tactfully expressed his displeasure over the fact that a complaint should be lost in this manner. Similarly, the Deputy Commissioner expressed his displeasure with another officer who had failed to bring the up-to-date position of a case. The Deputy Commissioner particularly pointed out to him his instructions sent on the 19th August, 1966, that he should come prepared with the up-to-date position of that case when he came to the Grievances Committee Meeting.

4. The Meeting was concerned almost exclusively with the quantitative aspects of the complaints rather than qualitative aspects. The main thing appeared to be that a complaint should be shown as disposed of. The nature of the complaint or the decision taken on the report was not discussed. Notwithstanding this, however, the Meeting did provide an opportunity to the Deputy Commissioner to get a feel of what the various Departments were doing and to provide guidance in many cases. The following are some of the instances in point:

- (a) One of the complaints discussed at the Meeting related to embezzlement of Rs. 9,000 by a Cooperative Secretary. The officer concerned explained that action had not been initiated so far against the Cooperative Secretary because the permission of the Deputy Registrar (Cooperative Societies) had not yet been received and that such a permission was necessary according to the standing instructions of the Deputy Registrar (Cooperative Societies). The Deputy Commissioner expressed his surprise and said that, in his view, embezzlement was embezzlement and that anything less than immediate initiation of action was not satisfactory. He, therefore, desired that the orders of the Deputy Registrar should be put up to him to enable him to decide whether they needed any change or modification.
- (b) In the case of another complaint, the Police Officer participating in the Meeting explained that the Police Department had not been able to take action because of

"lack of ingredients" in the F.I.R. The Deputy Commissioner did not agree and said that the Police Department should be able to initiate action on the F.I.R. notwithstanding what it contained or did not contain. He added that it was after all for the Police Department to investigate into the matter and fill up the gaps.

- (c) An officer of the Irrigation Department explained why electricity was not being supplied in desired quantity to the Irrigation tubewells. The Deputy Commissioner enquired of him the reason for a large number of complaints being made by the staff of the Irrigation Department against their superiors. He added that normally, it was the public that made complaints against the officials, but, in this case, it was rather strange that it is the employees of the Department that are making complaints. He asked the officer concerned to look into the matter and report to him.
- (d) As regards the complaints of villagers for short supply of electricity for the tubewells, the Irrigation Officials explained that it was due to the burning down of one or two transformers. He, however, explained that one of the transformers was expected to be put up in another 10 days or so when supply of electricity would be increased. He added further that yet another transformer would be installed within a month when the supply of electricity would be restored to its normal quantity.
- (e) One of the officials attributed the delay in action on a complaint to the recent floods and his inability consequently to reach that village. The Deputy Commissioner did not consider it to be a valid reason and added that in spite of the floods, he and his officials had been reaching the flood-affected villages.

5. On the whole, we gathered the impression that these Meetings helped to keep the officials alert and on their toes in regard to the complaints made by villagers.

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